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ABSTRACT

Northeastern South Dakota's country schools are examined in this volume of the Mountain Plains Library Association's eight-state research effort to locate and preserve information related to country schools. Rural school buildings are discussed in the broad social and historical context that shaped their form and style. Both national trends in rural school design and the state's economic and political environment are considered. The use of the schoolhouse for activities other than teaching is described as it varied according to the size of the community it served, its remoteness from a village or town, the existence of a church, and the standards of the community as to what was acceptable social activity in a schoolhouse. The origin, age, sex, education, experience, wages, and conditions of employment of teachers in country schools and their methods of maintaining discipline are traced. Aspects of the rural school curriculum, typical teaching methodologies, time spent in school, and the Young Citizens League are outlined. Aspects of the rural schools' role in the assimilation of the children of immigrant ethnic groups into the majority culture (English as the language of instruction, efforts following World War I, and Hutterites) are explored. (NEC)

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COUNTRY SCHOOL LEGACY:

Humanities on the Frontier

NORTHEASTERN SOUTH DAKOTA'S COUNTRY SCHOOLS

by

Philip L. Brown

Public Services Librarian
South Dakota State University
Brookings, South Dakota

1981

Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities

Sponsored by the Mountain Plains Library Association

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COUNTRY SCHOOL LEGACY ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

Project Director:
Andrew Gulliford
Colorado Mountain College/Silt Elementary School
Silt, Colorado

Media Director:
Randall Teeuwen
Photo America
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COUNTRY SCHOOL LEGACY: HUMANITIES ON THE FRONTIER

The Mountain Plains Library Association is pleased to be involved in this project documenting the country school experience. Funding of this project from the National Endowment for the Humanities, cost sharing and other contributions enabled us all to work with the several state-based Humanities Committees as well as many other state and local libraries, agencies and interested citizens. We are deeply impressed not only by the enthusiasm for this work by all concerned but by the wealth of experience brought to bear in focusing attention on—and recapturing—this important part of history, and how we got here. This project seems to identify many of the roots and "character formation" of our social, political and economic institutions in the West.

Already the main Project objective seems to be met, stimulating library usage and increasing circulation of historical and humanities materials in this region. Public interest is rising in regional, state and local history. Oral history programs are increasing with greater public participation. The study of genealogy—and the search for this information—is causing much interest in consulting—and preserving—historical materials. What has been started here will not end with this project. The immediate results will tour the entire region and be available for any who wish the program, film, and exhibit. There will be more discussion of—and action on—the issues involving the humanities and public policies, past and present. The Mountain Plains Library Association is proud to be a partner in this work, the Country School Legacy, and its contribution to understanding humanities on the frontier.

Joseph J. Anderson
Nevada State Librarian
Past President
Mountain Plains Library Association

NORTHEASTERN SOUTH DAKOTA'S COUNTRY SCHOOLS

Philip L. Brown

Public Services Librarian
South Dakota State University
Brookings, South Dakota

1981

Country School Buildings of Northeastern South Dakota

A Research Report

by

Philip L. Brown

Librarian-Researcher

Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier

A National Endowment for the Humanities Grant

to the

Mountain Plains Library Association

February, 1981

Booklet
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The plan of this report is to discuss the country school buildings of South Dakota, primarily in its northeastern sector, in the broad social and historical context that shaped their form and style. Both national trends in rural school design and the state's economic and political environment will be considered as forces that affected rural school facilities in northeastern South Dakota, which is defined for this report as that part of the state extending north from Brookings County to North Dakota and west to the Missouri River.

Rural schools, before the advent of motorized transport, had to be located within walking distance or at least pony-riding distance of the homes of the pupils. In the states to the east a pattern of school districts averaging about two miles by three miles in dimensions was well-established when South Dakota was settled. In the territorial era this pattern tended to replicate itself in South Dakota. Brookings County, along the Minnesota border, developed an average of five schools per standard congressional township of thirty-six square miles. District sizes ranged from four square miles to twelve square miles.[1] These schools were generally not as close together as those in rural areas of the eastern states; New York about 1920 had 10,000 one-room schools.[2] Brookings County's rural population never became as dense as that of the eastern states since it was parcelled out primarily in 160 acre tracts under the Homestead Act, and the climate required somewhat larger land units to support a family than did the more humid eastern climate. Further west in South Dakota there tended to be still fewer schools per township, but this state of nearly 80,000 square miles still developed 5,011 one-teacher rural schools by 1916, when the number was at or near its peak.[3]

The number of rural schools in South Dakota might have reached a still higher total except for the vision of General William Henry Harrison Beadle, territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction 1878-1885, who in 1883 persuaded the territorial legislature to enact a township unit of school governance.[4] The township school board could establish as many schools in the township as it wished so long as they were at least two miles apart, but a primary purpose of the plan was to provide a central authority that would act as a brake on every small neighborhood establishing a school without adequate resources. A compromise had to be struck to allow fifteen early-settled counties in the southeast and on the eastern border to retain their smaller districts. The school law of 1891 continued both classes of school districts and provided a means for local option to switch from one to the other with the result that the small-district system tended to spread beyond its original area.[5] The same law set a maximum of $1000 in bonding to build a single rural schoolhouse.

The upshot of the density of schoolhouses that developed was that the number of families and the amount of wealth to underwrite a school building were not large. Costly buildings often were clearly beyond the means of the tax base, and the legislature saw fit to protect districts against the foolish extravagance of a temporary majority even after the grinding poverty of the first years of settlement had been overcome.

As will be discussed below, there is little reason to believe that anything but plain, utilitarian buildings should have been expected from the pioneer era before 1900. After 1900, the bonding limit, the smallness of districts, the recurring periods of drought-induced hard times, the failure

to develop a continuous and adequate system of state incentives, and an extremely well-developed, conservative localism in South Dakota all joined to limit development in rural school buildings.

In the first half dozen years of settlement in virtually any rural locale anywhere on the American frontier, homes and the school, the only public building, were bound to be very simple and rude. The vast majority of rural pioneers did not bring much wealth with them, and the first years were bootstrap times for the individual households and any communal enterprise such as schools. Even in the very first years of settlement of an area, attempts to establish schools that would meet for terms of around three months were the rule rather than the exception. In the future South Dakota the native-American settlers, at least, came from locales where by the 1870s a school in every neighborhood was a fact of life.

Very shortly after the organization of Dakota Territory in 1861, the first territorial legislature provided the legal basis for public schools in 1862. The first districts, however, were not organized until 1865.[6] Time and again the first settlers in a locality did not wait for a public school to get schooling going. These first attempts might be subscription schools held in a house for a season or two--an evanescent manesfestation of the colonial dame school, although the teacher might be male.[7] The first building erected to serve as a school predated the organization of Dakota Territory; it was a log cabin with a dirt floor and a sod roof at Bon Homme on the Missouri River. Used only one year due to the abandonment of Bon Homme during the Indian hostilities of the early 1860s, the building measured 14 feet by 15 feet and had only one window.[8]

Frequently, the first schoolhouses near the Missouri River were constructed of logs; further north sod might be used for schools as well as for the first homes.[9] In Potter County, those families desiring a school took matters into their own hands when the district board declined to act and put up a 22 feet by 18 feet sod schoolhouse on donated land in a week's time.[10] Probably most common of all in the first years were rude shacks built of boards of the type called claim shanties. Eliza St. John was hired to teach a term near Lake Poinsett in 1883 and found her schoolhouse to be an abandoned dwelling on a hillside. It was levelled by three piles of stones on the lower side, and her desk consisted of three rough boards.[11]

Buildings intended to last indefinitely, however, soon followed. Neighborhoods often built these schoolhouses before most of the settlers were out of their initial dugouts, soddies, or claim shanties. It has been suggested that this phenomenon occurred not just because the settlers were eager for schools for their children, but also because of sharp behavior on the part of early settlers. They voted bonds to run over a long period so that the settlers who would come later would bear the larger part of the expense. There would be immediate income to some of the early settlers as they hired out to haul lumber from a railhead and to aid in the construction.[12]

One may view the pattern as venal, but in fact it was virtually the only way to construct a permanent public building in the initial years of settlement. In economic terms, the developing frontier was very poor in capital and needed large infusions of outside capital for private development and the development of public services. Beyond the slight cash resources of the settlers, local governments' ability to collect taxes initially was much

reduced by a legal barrier. Most settlers in northeastern South Dakota acquired their land through the provisions of the Homestead Act, under which the federal government did not surrender title to the land until the homesteader "proved-up" after five years. During those five years the land was still federal property and was not subject to state and local property taxes. In 1881 the territorial legislature enacted legislation to permit school districts to bond themselves to construct schools.[13] There was no ceiling on bonding by a common school district in this law; a ceiling of $1000 per building was established in the state law of 1891. The provisions for bonding in the 1891 law, however, show a pattern that is likely similar to that of the 1881 law. The 1891 law provided for bonds to run from ten to twnety years; for the first five years only taxes to pay interest were to be levied; after five years the taxes were to be increased to provide for a sinking fund.[14] This law clearly had provisions to provide for building now in anticipation of the later wealth and the emergence of homesteads from federal title. The 1881 bonding provision was heavily used as rural districts in 1890 had $1,525,775 in bonded indebtedness outstanding, a figure that was to decline thereafter.[15]

When the Sioux Indians surrendered title to all lands east of the Missouri River after their defeat in the war in which Custer was killed, and the railroads moved into the same area, the great "Dakota Boom" occurred between 1878 and the mid-1880s. By the late 1880s many permanent rural schools were built in northeastern South Dakota, including many that served their districts until the 1960s and a few even to this day. The experience of Day County was rather typical. It was virtually empty in 1880 but was nearly completely settled by 1885 with a railroad. The county was organized in 1882, and the first,

school opened that fall. General Beadle's township school district law of 1883 came quickly enough that Day County established its schools under that plan. It had thirteen districts organized by the end of 1884. The first buildings often were claim shanties, but one utilized a residential log house that lacked a floor. By 1885 claim shanties already were being replaced by permanent buildings on a pattern familiar to native-American settlers from the states to the east. In Day County the pattern may have tended to standardize because the county superintendent in 1885, Amos E. Barker, issued recommendations that school houses should be 16 feet by 26 feet with 10-foot posts, three windows on each side, and a door in the middle.[16]

The building standards prescribed by Barker were typical of the ubiquitous rural schoolhouses of the second half of the nineteenth century. This universal design evolved form that of the village churches of the east that earlier had housed the schools.[17] Such churches typically had long rectangular floor plans with windows on two sides and an entrance at one end. The church would have a belfry atop the gable above the entrance or as a continuation upward of a vestibule attached to the front of the building. On the inside, the altar and the pulpit would occupy a raised platform at the end opposite the entrance. Such churches can be found from New England westward and are rather common in South Dakota.

The rural-schoolhouse derivative of colonial church architecture varied toward being more economical as well as generally smaller. The ceiling was lower, the window tops were squared, the platform was omitted usually, and often even the belfry was omitted--even though the stereotyped school was supposed to have a belfry. Country schools of this type were constructed,

throughout most of the United States and Canada as well.[18] They were generally of frame construction; almost invariably in South Dakota.

In South Dakota sources such schools have been termed "cylinder" schools[19] or "box-car" schools.[20] "They had a door at one end, the heating unit in the middle and windows on two sides. Lighting was very poor."[21] Authorities claim that these buildings were typically "the product of 'hatchet-and-saw' carpenters, with no plans to guide and no ability to read them even if they had been furnished."[22] The builder was given a set of dimensions such as those recommended in Day County by County Superintendent Barker and permitted to use his practical building knowledge and mental image of a rural school.

The notheastern South Dakota schools of this type, of which only the better-built ones survived beyond thirty to forty years, clearly show the variation that might be expected from such haphazard planning.[23] The pitch of the roof runs from moderate to quite steep; the width and the height vary somewhat randomly. While three windows on each side of the "box-car" school were nearly standard, small buildings featured only two, but some others sported four and even five (often the result of a later addition). The schoolhouses with only two windows to a side were generally smaller, and the surviving examples are to be found only in the western third of the area. The double-hung windows usually had tow to four panes in each section. The chimney emerged usually at the peak of the gable in the back. The body of the chimney which began four feet above the floor when located thusly usually was inside the wall of the building. Vestibules, not always part of the

original construction, of various sizes and shapes were attached more often than not in the surviving examples. In northeastern South Dakota a belfry perched on the vestibule or atop the front gable was included less than half the time. The belfrey was perhaps more popular near the Minnesota border than elsewhere.

The basic coat of paint applied to these frame schoolhouses was white, approaching one-hundred percent of the time. The proverbial "little red schoolhouse" did not exist in northeastern South Dakota, although such coloring is apparent in photographs of "box-car" schools in New York[24] and eastern Canada.[25] Adolph Schock, who grew up in a German-Russian community somewhere in the Dakotas, claims that rural school houses in the German-Russian settlements were painted blue.[26] There is no collaborating evidence in South Dakota sources, and the phenomenon probably was highly localized to Schock's home community. Old photographs often show the windowframes, the doorframes, the roof edges and the corners painted a dark color, as was common on houses. Dark green is suspected to be the most common color used, as residences also frequently had such dark green trim. In Canada's prairie provinces a green or black trim was used nearly universally.[27] Red may also have been used for trim, at least a scale model of a rural school erected by a farmer on his property in Deuel County has trim painted in red.

The surviving "box-car" schools generally sit on substantial cement foundations, but the practice of moving the building to the part of the district with the most children at a particular time was common in other states and was provided for in the early days of settlement by temporary foundations that let wintery blasts past under the building freely. A

photograph from the turn of the century shows a small "box-car" school in Clark County sitting on piles of stones at its corners.

In the interior of the "box-car" schoolhouse, coathooks were generally on the back wall to the side of the door, which was not always centered. The stove, box or pot-belly for many years, sat typically near the center, with a long stovepipe running near the ceiling to the chimney at the front (as considered from inside). In a few instances the front had a platform, built up about one foot. Blackboards were on the wall behind the teacher's desk at the front of the room. Wainscotting was nearly always used on the lower walls, and upper walls were plastered, but occasionally wooden walls and ceilings were used. More common than wood on the upper walls and ceiling was molded tin.

There were variations in dimensions and details, but one is struck even more by the general conformity to a type. There is a core group whose members are so similar, particularly in the way the interior front was handled, that a common source of plans has to be considered. Plan books were available as early as 1855, including one from the U.S. Bureau of Education published in 1880.[28] The schools with standard details occur in several counties, so the source ultimately was not the county superintendent, although it has been noted above that the Day County superintendent made recommendations on dimensions. The source of the recurring pattern may have been the Bureau of Education circular entitled Rural School Architecture directly or indirectly from the territorial superintendent of public instruction.

A few surviving "box-car" schoolhouses of northeastern South Dakota are described here to illustrate their similarities and the variations which

occurred.

Lakeside School (Deuel County District #45) is 2½ miles east of the north edge of Clear Lake. Built in 1880, it is 16 feet by 24 feet with a 10 feet by ten feet gabled vestibule centered under the gable and with the entrance at the gable end of the vestibule, which includs a fuel bin. The pitch of the roof is gentle. There are three windows on both the east and west sides. This building, which was once painted white, no longer has its chimney, which protruded from the gable at the back wall. The building never had a belfry. The interior features have not been recorded.

Amsden School (Madison Township #2) in Grant County has been moved into Milbank to serve as a country-school museum. Built in 1882, is is 18 feet by 24 feet with a 6 feet by 18 feet gabled vestibule with the entrance under the peak of the gable. The vestibule includes a fuel room. The pitch of the roof is gentle. There are three windows on each of the two sides of this white building. A largely open belfry, measuring 4 feet by 4 feet, with a pointed roof sits on the center of the vestibule gable. The interior is plastered and is restored with turn-of-century school equipment, including a potbelly stove.

Kranzburg #5 School in the village of Kranzburg is perhaps the most elaborate of the surviving "box-car" schools. Built in 1879, is is 24 feet by 30 feet with a 9 feet by 24 feet hipped-roof vestibule added at a later date, but before 1910. The vestibule contained a fuel room, which at a late date was converted to house flush toilets. The entrance to the vestibule was originally a double door at the side, but that has been reduced to a single door. A large, five-feet-square belfry sits on the front of the shallow-

sloping, gabled roof. The belfry consists of four corner posts supporting a shallow-pointed roof. It has been necessary to brace it over the years. A 1910 postcard shows horizonal braces, but it now has braces crossing to form an X. A chimney emerges at the center of the gable at the back. This larger "box-car" schoolhouse has four windows on each side and the frames are decorated at the top. There are two doors from the vestibule into the schoolroom, a condition which indicates that the school had two outside doors before the vestibule was added. The coathooks were in the schoolroom between the two doors. Tha stove sat fairly near the back and was connected to the chimney in front by a long stovepipe. The lower walls are wainscotted, but the ceiling and upper walls are covered with molded tin. The community has treated the schoolhouse as a museum since it closed in 1969.

Super!

Pleasant Valley #1 School in Hand County 17½ miles south of Miller is a small "box-car" school, measuring only 14 feet by 20 feet with a 4feet by 10 feet shed structure serving as a vestibule and fuel room. The door is in the side of the vestibule. There are only two windows on each side. The chimney emerges at the center of the gable at the back of the shallow-sloping roof.

The permutations of various features go beyond those already indicated. The vestibule in particular varied in size and shape. In some instances they were small, gabled entrances no larger thath five feet square and centered under the gable of the main structure or at one side of the building front. On some cases the door was on the side of the vestibule, in others it was under the gable. Others utilized this small gabled vestibule but added space to one side for a fuel bin while continuing the roof line. In other instances

the gabled vestibule was considerably larger with dimensions of about ten or twelve feet square. In one instance the vestibule that was added late was made to extend the lines of the original building. A shed structure was often used in making a vestibule and fuel room addition. As noted in the Kranzburg School, the shed might have a hipped roof. Entrance was either on the side or in the fron, and the length of the shed might run the width of the main sturcture or stop short by a few feet.

While fewer than half of the surviving "box-car" schoolhouses in north-eastern South Dakota have belfrys, each belfry is different. A rather plain, open style was most common, with some sitting on the vestibule and some on the front of the principal structure. They usually had a nearly-flat hipped roof. One was closed with horizonal slats, and a few had some lathe work. In one instance, a no-longer-existing Grant County schoolhouse, the belfry was turned 45 degrees on the gabled vestibule for stiking effect.

The "box-car" style of schoolhouse began to undergo modification after 1900 under the impact of experts who wanted to improve the lighting, heating and ventilation, hygiene, and appearance of the rural schoolhouse as well as to provide facilities inside that were usually lacking until them. By the period after 1915 a new standard pattern reigned, but a few late buildings tried to incorporate many of the new features into the long, gable-roof style of the "box-car" school.

The standards for lighting and vision urged by the advocates of new rural schoolhouse designs had the greatest effect on the shape, arrangement, and appearance of the new country schools. Concern about defective eyesight and eyestrain, which were believed to be worsened by cross-lighting and unequal

sources of light as well as by dim lighting, led to the wide advocacy of unilateral lighting (light entering the room from only one side) from large banks of windows. The windows were to be on the left side of the pupils since most children using their right hands would not encounter shadows over their work. The windows were to reach within six inches of a twelve-foot or higher ceiling in order to give good light as far as twenty feet from the windows. A glass area in the windows equal to one-sixth to one-fourth of the floor area, with one-fifth the most usual figure, was reccommended. Some experts favored having the windows on the north wall for even light, but in northern climes that made the room somewhat harder to heat. In addition, the germicidic effect of sunlight was often considered desirable, so that east or west lighting was conceived to be the best. In addition, a few small windows near the ceiling to the back of the pupils might be permitted for purposes of ventilation.[29]

By act of the 1907 legislature, the superintendent of public instruction was given the power to approve the plans of all new school buildings in South Dakota for proper lighting and ventilation. Superintendent Ustrud called for unilateral lighting from the left or light from the left and back only with an area of glass to be at least one-sixth that of the floor. The windows were to reach near the ceiling. He made no particular recommendation about the compass direction of the unilateral lighting.[30]

The large banks of windows on one side of the schoolhouse was only the most noticable and the most universal of the changes adopted after 1900 under proddings from experts on schoolhouse design. They called for cloakrooms, usually one for each sex, and a vestibule. They also sought small rooms for

manual training and a library. They usually favored indoor toilets, ofetn of the the chemical type. They recommended concret-floor basements that could include a coal furnace and a play area or possibly facilities for preparing and eating a hot lunch. They also promoted plastered walls without wainscotting and lots of blackboards positioned for good lighting.[31] The width recommendation for the classroom already tended to widen the schoolhouse from the old "box-car" model, and since the small auxilary rooms tended to be strung along one side of the classroom, a much-more-nearly square building resulted. the higher ceilings already tended to raise the height of the schoolhouse, but when a basement was included with a suggested four feet of its depth above the groundline, a markedly taller building resulted.

The resulting designs based on the functionalism in the recommendations of the experts called for a squarish, tall, one-story building with one wall dominated by a bank of windows reaching nearly to the roofline. An entrance had to be provided on another wall, most often that one opposite the window-wall, and a small window for each of the auxilary rooms. Having planned from functional considerations a one-room schoolhouse that approached a cube in shape, designers around the country tended often to back away from the starkness that putting basic frame siding and a basic roof on the building would produce. By arranging the auxilary rooms just so, a very fat T-shaped or cross-shaped floorplan could be devised that would get away from the stark cube. Rooflines could be varied, and separate entrances for boys and girls could also get away from an austere exterior, as could some form of decorative exterior surface such as half-timbering. Many such schoolhouses are illustrated or shown in floorplans provided in the publications of the experts.

The majority of such plans were developed by the education departments of the various states or by state normal schools. Some of the stylistic devices used were also becoming popular in domestic, commercial, and church architecture.[32]

The stark, frame near-cube with very little done to break the basic lines appeared in many parts of the country and in Canada.[33] It was almost universal among the later one-room schools built in South Dakota. Characteristic of this stark design was the hipped roof, which also became very popular in domestic architecture in South Dakota at the same time and was used on outbuildings as well. The type was widespread because of its economy of construction and upkeep, which would naturally please taxpayers, and because of an emphasis on function being predominant. According to S. A. Challman, Commissioner of School Buildings for Minnesota in 1917, "Mere ornament cannot be defended in schoolhous construction. Everything about a school building should have a purpose."[34] His observation was made in urging simple rooflines and opposing belfries.

The predominance of a very stark form of early-twentieth-centruy schoolhouse architecture in South Dakota was due in part to the standard plans finally provided by the Department of Public Instruction. Those plans, however, were drawn up rather late in comparison with other state, so many districts followed the principles of the experts through using plans from other states or commercial planbooks, presumbably with the approval of the superintendent of public instruction. Superintendent Ustrud, after the 1907 law gave him the review power, set forth the principles of good one-room school design in his next biennial report and also provided the basic plans and illustrations of two recently-constructed rural schoolhouses in Nebraska, one of which utilized

a hipped roof.[35] These specific plans were not used, however, for any of the rural schoolhouses observed in the fieldwork in northeastern South Dakota. It can be presumed, however, that economy was a major factor often in favoring the stark style.

Often the only substantial step a common school district took to upgrade its schoolhouse was to install unilateral lighting in its "box-car" school by removing the windows from one side and creating a solid bank of windows on the remaining side. More often after 1900 this innovation was incorporated into a new building that generally stronly resembled the "box-car" school. This style of schoolhouse is labelled transistional here, and it continued to be built into the 1920s after the square style had become predominant. The transitional-style building often incorporated cloakrooms into the main structure and occasionally even included chemical toilets to meet the state aid formual set in 1919. No examples with belfries have been noted.

The Daley School, a transitional schoolhouse built shortly after 1900, was designed locally by the residents of Lake Alice District #20 in Deuel County. It had seven windows on one side and two large windows under the gable on either side of a small, gabled vestibule. Somewhat wider than most "box-car" school houses, it also featured a higher-pitched roof than usual.

A transitional rural schoolhouse in Centerville Township of Faulk County had large, but typical outer dimensions for a "box-car" school, but it had a bank of nine windows on the south side contrary to the directional recommendations of the unilateral lighting experts. A vestibule and cloackroom were built into the main structure at the end of the gable, and a small window on the north side probably betrays the location of a fuel room. The

interior featured molded tin walls and ceiling.

Another transitional school building in Peoria Township of Hughes County northwest of Pierre is still in use. With dimensions of 30 feet by 18 feet, it merely elongated the typical "box-car" schoolhouse dimensions. It was built without elevating the ceiling and features a bank of seven windows on the east side. Entrance was via a sheltered stoop with a gabled roof, which opened into a vestibule that was an integral part of the building, accounting for its moderate elongation. This building is unusual because its exterior is stucco, the only one-room schoolhouse which was found in the field studies using that material.

A very late transitional schoolhouse was the Southwest Bowdle Towhship School built in 1921 in Edmunds County. Also measuring 30 feet by 18 feet, it had four windows on one side wall without any elevation of the ceiling. It featured chemical toilets in small rooms on the outside of the two cloackrooms. These toilets were not put to use as they did not work.

Another late transitional schoolhouse, Farview District #73, five miles north and six miles east of Altamont in Deuel County, was built in 1922. With exterior dimensions of 30 feet by 24 feet, it was close to the dimensions typical of the hipped-roofed, square style. The ceiling was intermediate in height between those in "box-car" schoolhouses and the height of the ceiling in the late mode schoolhouses. It had a bank of five windows on the west side under the gable. These unorthodoxly-placed windows were supplemented by two full-sized windows on the north side, in violation of the unilateral lighting principle. It had a basement with a gravity coal furnace. The entrance was under the east gable and it led into a pair of cloakrooms, which

each opened into the classroom as well as leading to small closets with chemical toilets as called for in the state-aid formula.

The pace of replacing the original "box-car" schools in the early years of this century was not rapid. The characteristics of many of the transitional buildings leave an impression that the superintendent of public instruction's role in approving plans for new buildings often may have been ignored, or the superintendent of public instruction may have felt that he had to compromise or be openly defied. Growing dissatisfaction with the state of rural education generally in South Dakota on the part of the superintendent of public instruction and leaders in the South Dakota Education. Association led to calls for a study commission as early as 1910.[36] In 1917 the efforts culminated during the Progressive Republican administration of Governor Peter Norbeck in an act authorizing a state educational survey. The actual survey was done under the auspices of the U. S. Bureau of Education.[37] Its findings and recommendations generally were in line with the previously-stated positions of South Dakota's educational leaders, including the need for better rural schoolhouses.

The extensive survey of rural schoolhouses showed over 75 percent were in poor or just-fair condition. 70 percent of the rural schoolhouses still had cross lighting from the "box-car" school window pattern; 15 percent had illumination from the left and rear, as could be expected from several of the transitional schoolhouses that were described above; only 5 percent had unilateral lighting from the left. Overall, two-thirds of the one-room schools were judged to have insufficient wondow space for adequate illumination.[38] These figures are a rough measure of how many of the original generation of

"box-car" schoolhouses had been replaced by buildings utilizing improved designs by the time of the United States' entry into World War I.

The legislature of 1919, sitting during the peak of South Dakota's agricultural prosperity that had been helped by the effects of World War I and during the administration of the activist Governor Norbeck, responded moderately positively to the recommendations of the educational survey to upgrade both rural school buildings and teacher qualifications. Only rarely has South Dakota mandated changes in local governmental units' practices, and this time was no exception. The state under the 1919 act would give $150 above the proceeds of the Permanent School Fund to any rural school that met certain standards which included an approved building with at least one acre of playground. Only 95 country schools could qualify under all the standards in 1920.[39]

By 1923 the number of qualifying "standard" rural schools increased to 427, still less than 10 percent of the approximately 5000 one-room schools in South Dakota.[40] As these were nearly all newly-constructed buildings, something of a building boom had occurred, and, furthermore, the state-aid incentive clearly led to the proper construction of new school buildings.[41] It had been an effective step forward, for in 1920 Superintendent of Public Instruction Fred L. Shaw had complained in his biennial report that not only were many old buildings unfit to use, but many new buildings also were not properly heated, lighted, or ventilated.[42] The rural schoolhouse building boom continued on through the mid-1920s according to dates provided on site forms.

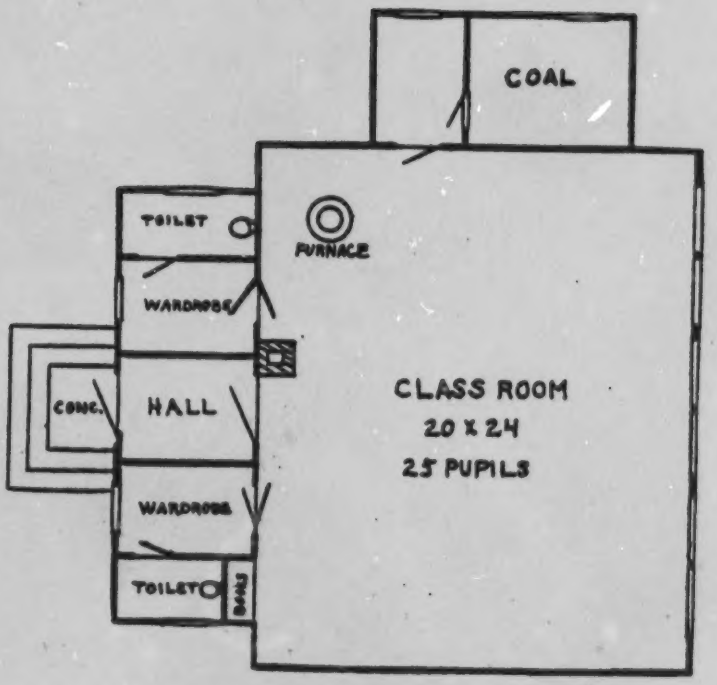
A school board building a new schoolhouse could utilize one of the four

plans for one-room schools now provided by the superintendent of public instruction to the county superintendents. Such plans were optional, but any other plans had to be submitted to the superintendent of public instruction for approval. Each school plan had to meet minimum standards for heating and ventilation, provide windowpane area equal to one-fifth of the floor space, utilize unilateral lighting from the left (if the window space requirement could not thusly be met, extra windows at least seven feet above the floor could be added), and be equipped with two sanitary indoor chemical toilets.[43]

Designs No. 1-A for a one-room schoolhouse without a basement and No. 2-A for a one-room schoolhouse with a basement are illustrated with floorplans on page 21. These plans describe "no-frills" schoolhouses, for they provide only vestibuled entries, separate cloakrooms for boys and girls, and indoor toilets from among the recommendations made by experts for auxilary rooms.[44] There were no rooms for libraries, home economics, or manual training. Design No. 4-A expanded the width of the classroom of the 2-A design by four feet. Design No. 3-A added a three-room apartment for a teacher, but it seems rarely to have been used, for no example of it was found in northeastern South Dakota during the fieldwork. These plans also provided for no other auxilary rooms.[45]

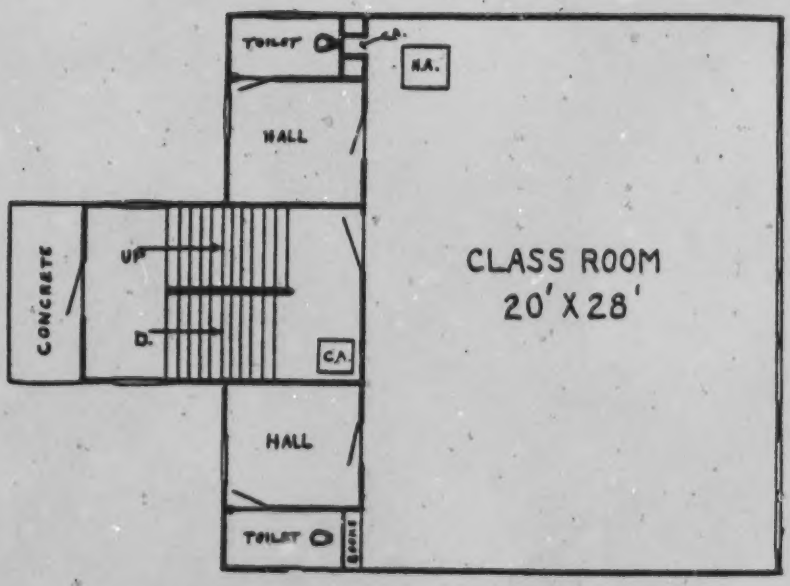
These plans produced rather austere, nearly-square buildings under hipped roofs. This general design, as previously noted, was widespread, so to trace the South Dakota designs to the influence of those of another state is speculative in the absence of evidence from the Department of Public Instruction. Several of the Minnesota state-authorized plans developed in the early 1910s,

Floor Plan of Design No. 1-A--State Plans



One room building without basement.
Size: 26 feet by 24 feet.

Floor Plan of Design No. 2-A State Plans



One room building with basement containing community room, kitchen, storage, coal bin, hot air furnace.
Size: 28 feet by 28 feet.

however, feature squarish, hipped-roof buildings whose austerity is broken mainly by a porch on the front. Minnesota Design No. 2, in particular, is rather similar in floorplan to South Dakota Designs No. 1-A and No. 2-A. This most popular Minnesota design provided for a fuel room and a library in place of the indoor toilets of the South Dakota designs.[46]

Where several Minnestoa plans used porches on the front to distract from the stark lines, South Dakota Design No. 2-A used enclosed stairs that protruded from the center of the front for the same purpose. South Dakota Design No. 1-A had the entire vestibule, cloackroom, and toilet section in a hipped-roof, shedlike protuberance that was nearly as long as the width of the building but had a lower roofline than the classroom portion. In several instances in South Dakota a belfry was perched over the vestibule of a 2-A plan schoolhouse or on the center front of the roof of either a 1-A or 2-A plan school building. These belfries varied little from those placed on "box-car" schoolhouses. A small, gabled dormer sometimes substituted for a belfry on the roof of the main structure.

A bank of large windows reaching from about 3½ or 4 feet from the floor nearly to the high ceiling dominated the back wall, which was to the left of the pupils, in 1-A and 2-A schoolhouses. Almost one-half of the hipped-roof, squarish schools which were surveyed in the field work did not use the "state standard" plans. The most frequent variation in the exterior was the use of windows on a second side of the classroom section.

About one-half of the hipped-roof, squarish schoolhouses that were observed in northeastern South Dakota clearly were built according to one of the state plans, with the 2-A model being by far the most popular. Probably

the overwhelming majority of the one-room schoolhouses that were built after 1920 utilized the state plans. Many of the other nearly-square, hipped-roof rural schoolhouses were built prior to that date. For example, Grant District #19, in Deuel County one mile north and nine miles west of Clear Lake, was 30 feet square with high windows on three sides of the classroom. Across the center one-third of the front was a hipped-roofed porch which led to the centered entrance. There were two cloackrooms which each opened into the classroom, which featured an anachronistic molded-tin ceiling.

Another Deuel County hipped-roof schoolhouse was Pleasant Valley District #51, built in 1917. Measuring 26 feet by 30 feet, it featured a small, sloping roof above the centered door and a belfry decorated with wooden bars, which had been turned on a lathe. It had windows on both the north and east sides of the clasroom as well as two cloackrooms and a basement.

Some of the hipped-roof schoolhouses built after 1920 were more elaborate than the state-plan schoolhouses. They typically were in larger districts that also had active community clubs that used the schoolhouse. Day District #16A, located four miles east and one-half mile south of Clark, was built in 1921. Its main structure was 32 feet by 36 feet to accomodate a room one-third as large as the classroom to its side behind a large opening that served as a proscenium arch. Two-thirds of the floor area of the auxilary room was filled with a built-up platform. In addition, this building featured a hipped-roof section about 24 feet wide and 10 feet deep at the front that housed the vestibule, cloakrooms, and chemical toilets. It was approached by climbing a stoop which was partially sheltered by a gabled roof. Landscaped, unlike virtually all South Dakota rural school buildings, and con-

structed of red-pink bricks, it was a much more pleasant building than the frame state-plan buildings.

Another more elaborate schoolhouse, Latham Central, which served an entire township in western Faulk County, was built in 1933 to replace a two-room schoolhouse that had burned. Also about 32 feet by 36 feet plus a hipped-roof, enclosed stairs at the front on the order of of the state 2-A plan, it had two cloakrooms on the entrance side and two other small rooms, which are said to have been a teacherage, an an adjacent side. The teacherage rooms which opened onto the classroom and did not interconnect very likely were meant to be a library and home economics room in the plans the district utilized. This late building did not provide indoor toilets. The basement featured a community room with a separate exit and a stage and dressing rooms behind a proscenium arch. A small room next to the main stairs to this basement may have served as a concession stand as well as a kitchen for hot school lunches. Latham Central School, far from even a hamlet, housed a very active community club. In contrast to its excellent accomodations inside, its exterior was as plain as any state 2-A school, whose style it duplicated.

After World War I brick began to be used, although infrequently, for the exteriors of rural schools. Drakola District #26 School, nine miles west and one-half mile south of Oldham in Kingsbury County, was constructed in 1926 with a red-pink brick veneer. A state 2-A plan schoolhouse, it had a modification of the window pattern, with two of the seven windows on the left of the classroom moved to the back. A very plain, open belfry was placed on top of the gabled, enclosed stairway at the front of the building.

Also built of the same red-pink brick was Roosevelt District #14 School

in Deuel County two miles west and two miles north of Toronto. This schoolhouse was built in 1930 to replace a predecessor that burned. It utilized the state Design No. 21-A for a two-room school with a full basement.[47] Its 48 feet by 30 feet dimensions under a hipped roof with the hipped-roof, enclosed stairway centered along the longer side made the building more aestheitic in its proportions than the 1-A and 2-A buildings.

A state 2-A schoolhouse constructed of yellowish-tan tile blocks was built in Lincoln County, just south of Sioux Falls. It has been converted into a private dwelling.

Northeastern South Dakota was not entirely without one-room schools featuring stylish exterior architecture. In what may have been the only attempt to depart from both the "box-car" style and the hipped-roof, squarish style in this part of the state, the Plainview School in Aberdeen Township of Brown County was designed in the Georgian style after World War I. It was dominated by a high-ceiling center section which had a large bank of windows on the front with the entrance marked by a pillar-supported gable at one end of this section. An octagonal cupola, about five feet in diameter with a roof coming to a point, sat centered atop the roofridge. At each end there were nine-foot, gabled extensions with their rooflines lowered about two feet. The one to the back of the classroom had a floor raised two steps. It could be used as a stage, but it also housed the manual training section. The other extension, on the other side of the entrance hall from the classroom, housed the kitchen for preparing hot lunches. In addition, the building was provided with a full basement.[48] This building is now used as a church.

As the twenties progressed, new school construction began to dwindle in

response to several forces. Mechaniztion of agriculture, which permitted larger farms, combined with low prices caused by surpluses to drive the less-efficient farmers from the land. By the 1920s the rural birth rate dropped as large families no longer were popular. The number of pupils per district was declining so that a new building's cost must have seemed extravagant for the number of pupils to be served. There were those who refused to build a new schoolhouse because they preferred to seek consolidation, and they were joined by those who feared that consolidation would come to cause an investment in a new one-room schoolhouse to be wasted.

Then came the "dirty thirties" with its droughts, grasshoppers, and depression-induced lower prices for farm commodities. Most rural districts in South Dakota could not pay their current expenses, let alone consider bonding to build a new schoolhouse. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), a work-relief agency of the New Deal, began renovating schools and constructing new school buildings across the nation, including South Dakota. By 1939 the WPA built 43 new rural schools, mostly state 1-A and 2-A buildings, with the districts contributing less than half of the cost. Many of these schools were in northeastern South Dakota. In Washabaugh County, west of the Missouri River, the WPA built log schoolhouses on an Indian reservation.[49]

Consolidation was responsible for the construction of larger rural schools on the open prairies or in hamlets and villages, but it was not an extensive force until after 1950. General Beadle's 1883 law for township school districts was actually intended to act as an impediment on the creation on numerous, very small districts with low enrollments within two or three miles of each other.[50] This intent was only moderately realized as local people initially

wanted above all the schoolhouse to be close at hand to reduce the walking distance of their children. Governor Arthur C. Mellette's urging in 1893 of larger districts in sparsely-settled areas with the children being transported to school was not accepted.[51] Just after the turn of the century in 1903 permissive legislation was passed for township high schools, but little happened. In 1913 a consolidated school law passed, and one year later Superintendent of Public Instruction Lugg reported that his department had already approved the plans for twenty-three proposed consolidated districts.[52]

The authors of the U.S. Bureau of Education's survey of South Dakota education advocated consolidation with governance being given over to county-wide districts. They declared that small districts were unable to meet modern community needs and that in South Dakota the common school devoted itself to the "tool" subjects almost wholly. They discovered poor attendance with large numbers of pupils failing to complete the prescribed course of study. They asserted that most schools were unable to provide the social aspects required of modern education and that much of the irregular attendance was wasted due to a lack of interest in the prescribed schoolwork.[53] Their survey, based on 1916 data, found only thirty-two consolidated schools, all but three based on villages.[54] Their specific recommendations to improve the situation called for state standards, state approval of plans, and state aid as an incentive to consolidation.[55]

The 1919 school law that aided approved one-room schools also provided aid for three classes of consolidated schools. The "first class" consolidated school had to provide at least four teachers for twelve grades, include a minimum of eighteen square miles, transport pupils living more than one and

one-half miles distant from the school building, and provide three acres of playground, a suitable library and apparatus. The "second classs" consolidated school needed to have only two teachers and two acres of playground but otherwise had the same requirements. A "state class" consolidated school would have three teachers in the high school and four in the grades. In 1920, reflecting consolidations already accomplished, the state aided one "state class" school, seven "first class" and 23 "second class" consolidated schools.[56]

With the school-aid law in hand, the Department of Public Instruction and the county superintendents organized a "Better School Campaign" in the fall of 1919. A crew of 48 speakers, travelling in groups of two or three, went from rural school to rural school, making two to three presentations each day and speaking to 200,000 people. A wave of successful consolidation elections followed, and the number of consolidated schools receiving state aid jumped to 71 by 1923.[57] South Dakota was still behind several neighboring states: Minnesota, 315 consolidated schools; Iowa, 320; Nebraska, 108; Colorado, 146:; North Dakota, 518 (there state aid began in 1911).[58] By 1929 South Dakota's total of consolidated rural schools was still only 99, a figure that was little changed from the mid-1920s.[59]

Most of these consolidated schools combined a village with a surrounding rural area, but a few were built on the open prairies or in hamlets. Their number was always quite low, and few existed in northeastern South Dakota.

One of the earliest consolidated schools was Logan School, which opened on the open prairie in Logan Township in Clark County in 1915. The township district previously had three schoolhouses, and consolidation came as an alternative to building a fourth schoolhouse in the eastern part of the district.

Proponents persuaded the district that consolidation was economic because the number of elementary teachers would be reduced from four to two and high school tuition in Clarck would be saved. These savings would tend to offset the cost of the new building and the cost of transportation of pupils which the consolidation law required. As soon as the decision to consolidate was made in 1914, one schoolhouse was sold to a neighboring district, and the other two were moved to the consolidated school site, set together, and used until the new building was completed a year later.

Logan Consolidated School originally was a three-room, twelve-grade school. A Mitchell archtect designed the building, which was a frame rectangle in the high-ceiling, hipped-roof style. It was provided with a full basement and a belfrey over the gabled, enclosed stairway on one corner that was the principal entrance. A fourth classroom was added to the side of this entrance in 1923. Only a year later, internal remodelling produced a fifth classroom. The building had steam heat, and gas lights were added within a year. By 1921 a septic tank for indoor toilets was installed, and water was provided by an artesian well. A Delco light plant was bought in 1925, and electric lights were installed. The basement contained an auditorium with a small stage.[60]

The transportation requirement was met in the early years by wagons which were provided with box-like enclosures to protect the passengers from the elements. Abouth 1930, a decade after some other consolidated districts began using motorized buses, Logan Consolidated School adopted buses that used locally-built enclosures on truck chassis.[61] Motorized buses were being used by about half of the school districts providing transportation as early as 1923.[62]

The larger consolidated schools that were built in villages usually were constructed of the dark red-brown brick that seems to have been de rigueur for town schools in the first three decades of this century. Even some of the smaller consolidated schools that were built in hamlets were built of this dark brick. Elrod Consolidated School, a four-classroom school of this type, was situated in the hamlet of Elrod, which has since faded away, in eastern Clark County. In 1923 it was offering a two-year high school course attended by ten pupils.[63] The rectangular, one-story building featured an entry constructed in the form of a gothic arch with the double doors built to fit and a crenellated roofline over the entry. The full basement contained two large rooms, one of which was equipped with a stage behind an arch, and the other was utilized as a gymnasiumeven though its ceiling was too low.

Blaine Consolidated School, which still stands two miles south and three and one-half miles east of Onida, was built in 1920 in response to the 1919 "Better School Campaign." It was constructed in the nearly-square, hipped-roof mode with dimensions of 44 feet by 50 feet. The upper level contained three classrooms and quarters for teachers. Much of the basement, which was mostly above the groundline, was devoted to a gymnasium. A portable stage was kept in the basement and moved upstairs when needed to the two classrooms in the back that were separated by a movable partition. The original stucco exterior was later covered with a simulated red-brick asphaltic sheathing. the severe lines of the building were relieved by a 12 feet by 12 feet entrance and stairway which had a small room above it.[64]

Teacherages were never common in South Dakota. Nationally, in the 1910s experts on improving rural school conditions considered providing a cottage

or quarters built into the school building for the teacher(s) to be an aid for attracting and retaining better teachers for rural schools.[65] The U.S. Bureau of Education survey of 1918 recommended teacherages as a means of attracting better-qualified teachers to rural schools and retaining them. The authors found that boarding conditions were deplorable for most of the 90 percent of the rural teachers who lived in the district in which they taught during the the school term. The well-to-do farmers would not have boarders, and the poor farmers provided unfit conditions.[66] The 1919 school aid law provided for grants of $500 to help in construction of teacher's cottages with a minimum of three rooms. In the first three years of that law the state aided the construction of 43 such cottages.[67] The Department of Public Instruction also provided a standard plan for a two-bedroom teacher's cottage with kitchen, living-dining room, bath and porch.[68] The movement to provide teacherages seems quickly to have stalled, and some districts did not use theirs for very long. By 1929 teacherages were provided by only 22 schools.[69]

No separate teacher's cottage built with state aid was encountered in the field studies. If such buildings still exist in northeastern South Dakota, they are rarely in association with a standing schoolhouse. The Latham Central School and the Blaine Consolidated School, both described earlier, are the only two schools encountered in the fieldwork that contained rooms for teachers within the school building. The Logan Consolidated School provided a teacherage beginning about 1916 before state aid by moving two of the district's former one-room schoolhouses to the school site and rebuilding them into teachers' quarters, which were shared by the teaching staff. From 1923-24 to 1933-34 and again in 1939-40 to 1941-42, the male high school teacher and prin-

cipal and his wife both taught in the school (three different couples) while occupying the teacherage. The principal, whether his wife taught or not, occupied the teacherage, and other teachers could board with them.[70] Although the Logan school building is gone, the teacherage remains abandoned in decrepid condition at the site.

The worsening economic conditions and changing demographics of the twenties and thirties have previously been mentionned in connection with the decline of rural schoolhouse construction after the mid-1920s. Widespread adoption of motorized transportation overcame the factor of distance to a high degree in this time period. This new reality may also be a factor in why consolidation on a township level and teacherages to house the teachers seem to have lost their appeal as a solution to the problems of rural schools as depicted by the experts. Paradoxically, South Dakota's system of one-room schools throughout the first half of the twentieth century was very expensive in operating costs, which continued to be paid because the consolidation solution with its capital investment appeared even more expensive. For decades South Dakota was unable to resolve this dilemna, and the common school system was not supplanted until the 1960's even though only a relatively-few buildings were replaced after the 1920s. Only 499 school buildings of all types were constructed from 1930 to 1951.[71]

Although from time to time frightfully large numbers of pupils might enroll in a one-room school, especially in the pioneer era, even in the early twentieth century the pupil-teacher ration was rather low in rural South Dakota schools. The result was, that even though rural teachers were poorly paid in South Dakota both absolutely and in comparison with other states,

the per-pupil cost was over twice the national avearge in 1920.[72] As an alternative to consolidation, the legislature regularized in law in 1921 the option of a school district to pay tuition to neighboring districts for its students and to reimburse the parents for transportation costs. This solution became more and more popular as it saved money for the district that closed its school and spread the cost of the neighboring school(s) over a larger number of pupils. When a village was near, often the pupils went to the village school on a tuition basis.[73] Already by 1934 tuition (including highschool tuition) had become 25 percent of the total expenses of the common school districts of South Dakota.[74]

The number of closed rural schools grew steadily after 1920, when already 300 such schools were not in use. In 1930 the figure rose to 400 with further rises to 900 by 1940 and 1322 in 1949 (30 percent of the rural schools in the state).[75] Since this figure represents common school districts still in existence, it understates the decline in numbers: over 1700 rural school buildings were closed between 1930 and 1951, when there were still 3006 rural schools operating. In that year the number of pupils per operating rural school was 11.25, and the cost per pupil was $255.33 as opposed to $150.32 in the town and city schools.[76] The dilemna had not yet been solved.

One late solution which was tried in some districts in at least two counties, Hand and Faulk, was to stop operating schools at several locations in the township common school district. In four townships in Hand County between 1951 and 1959, all the one-room schools were closed, and two one-room schoolhouses were joined at the center of the township.[77] Not only was the number of teachers reduced, but in the resulting two-room school each teacher was

responsible for a smaller number of grades. The buildings were physically joined with "box-car," transitional, and hipped-roof buildings indiscriminately brought together. In Park Township a state 1-A hipped-roof building is attached to a transitional gabled schoolhouse. In Florence Township two "box-car" schoolhouses with differing heights of rooflines and gable peaks were attached to make a T. These make-shift, two-room schools ceased to operate when the statewide forced consolidation finally came in the late 1960s.

The names of the rural schools of South Dakota have several origins. Any particular school was apt to have two names, the official district name and number and another local-usage name. The latter name over time often changed more than once.

Official names for rural schools in South Dakota have a bewildering lack of uniformity of pattern due to the coexistence of two types of local school organization since the 1880s. Some counties consisted entirely of single-school common school districts. In Brookings and Deuel Counties, for instance, the districts were numbered from 1 to n where n was the last district to be formed. There is no geographic order to the district numbers, so Brookings County District #1 bordered #68, #44, #99, and the Brookings (city) Independent District.[78]

Counties that followed the township school district plan used a variety of official naming patterns, only part of which are illustrated here. Grant County called the schools by the township name and then numbered the schools within the township district #1 to n where n is the total number of schoolhouses operated by the district. In Hand County the township district was

named after the civil township and numbered according to the federal land office's range and township numbers. Bates 109-66 meant Bates Township school district which is land township 109 of range 66.

In the pioneer era, if there were no other named feature of the landscape to give the school its name, it usually took the name of the family living nearest the school and/or the donor of the grounds for the schoolhouse. The name might remain unchanged over the generations as did the Domsch School in Bates Township of Hand County, which was named after the donor of the school site. More often, the name changed if the owner of the nearby property changed. The Karlstad or Bjorklund School in Estelline Township of Hamlin County is an example.

On rare occasion the school's name goes back to a prominent individual who was associated with the school in its early years. The Amsden School in Madison Township in Grant County was named for an early teacher who was county superintendent from 1884 to 1888 and later had an extensive career in the state legislature.

Sometimes the school took on the name of the community, if the community became distinct enough to acquire a name. Moritz School in Deuel County was named after an adjacent hamlet. In other cases a community name developed from a geographical feature and the school also received the name. The Lake Alice School and neighborhood in Deuel County were named for Lake Alice in the vicinity. In southern Kingsbury County, the Drakola School and community take their name from the Drakola Congregational Church, which is named for the early minister George W. Drake.

Where there was only one school in a township, usually after consolidation,

the schoolhouse would carry the township name: Blaine Consolidated School in Sully County, Logan Consolidated School in Clark County, and Latham School in Faulk County were such schools.

A new pattern of school name appeared in the 1920s as the result of an early Young Citizens League project. It appears that the intent was to build pride in the school by having the pupils select a name for their school that would give it more identity than being called after a neighboring landowner did. Most of these names somehow referred to something about the site or was at le st upbeat if not particularly site-related. The Shady Lawn School in Spirit Lake Township of Kingsbury County specifically was reported on a "historic site form" to have received its name as a Young Citizens League project. The name describes the school ground's abundant trees, which were planted at an early date. Other names of the type, sometimes specifically originating in the 1920s even if the memory of the Young Citizens League project is lost, are Willow Row School in Deuel County (a row of willow trees planted at the edge of the school ground), Pleasant Valley School also in Deuel County (nearby lake, trees, and hills), and Farview School also in Deuel County (at the top of a gradual rise that commands a view nearly thirty miles to the east, it is claimed). Some of the schools merely acquired pretty names: Sunnyside (Edmunds County), Happy Hill (Kingsbury County), and Prairie Rose (Deuel County).

Not very common in rural districts was to name a school after a famous statesman, educator, or cultural figure, apattern that is found in cities in South Dakota. An exception is the Roosevelt School in Deuel County, named for President Theodore Roosevelt. This name may have been a somewhat differ-

ent outcome of the Young Citizens League project.[79]

In conclusion, northeastern South Dakota rural schools, by and large, never were lavish or showed much attempt at architectural decoration except perhaps for a usually rather plain belfry. Some observers might be tempted to attribute the pattern to a tightness with the dollar which is supposedly characteristic of certain ethnic groups strongly represented in the area. More likely as an explanation is the somewhat marginal nature of South Dakota's agricultural economic base as it sits less favored by nature and further from markets than the more prosperous agricultural states of Iowa and Illinois, for example. Historically, per capita income and wealth have been lower than even in most surrounding states. The periods of genuine prosperity were too few and brief for elaborate school buildings to bloom on the rural South Dakota prairie.

Notes

1. Verna M. Simon, "the Declining Rural School Population in Brookings County," M.S. thesis, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1940, pp. 8-9.

2. Julian E. Butterworth, Rural School Survey of New York State: School Buildings and Grounds, Ithaca, N.Y.: Joint Committee on Rural Schools, 1922, p. 16.

3. U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, Bulletin, 1918, No. 31, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, p. 14.

4. Cleata B. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota: Its First Hundred Years, 1861-1961," in South Dakota Historical Collections, v. 36, 1972, p. 232.

5. School Laws of South Dakota with Session Laws Relating to Public Schools, Tyndall, S.D.: Tribune Print, 1891, pp. 16-19.

6. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," pp. 213-214.

7. Ibid., pp. 216-217, 222.

8. Ibid., p. 221.

9. Jane Boorman, "A Frontier Learns of God and Man," in Dakota Panorama, ed. by J. Leonard Jennewein and Jane Boorman, 3rd ed., Sioux Falls: Brevet Press, 1973, p. 175.

10. Everett Dick, The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890, Lincoln, Neb.: Johnsen Publishing Co., 1954, p. 318.

11. Eliza St. John Brophy, Twice a Pioneer, New York: Exposition Press, 1972, p. 75.

12. Dick, The Sod-House Frontier, p. 319.

13. Walter William Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education in South Dakota," in South Dakota Historical Collections, v. 12, 1924, p. 438.

14. School Laws of South Dakota, 1891, pp. 48-49.

15. Ludeman, "studies in the History of Public Education," p. 440.

16. J. Olson Anders, "Educational Beginnings in a Typical Rural County," Rural Sociology, v. 7, 1942, pp. 424-429.

17. Fletcher B. Dresslar, American Schoolhouses, U.S. Bureau of Education

of Education Bulletin, 1910, No. 5, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911, p. 123.

18. Frequently in South Dakota books describing the first schools and in books on schoolhouse design from around the nation this type of school building is described as typical nationally (and criticized in the latter class of publication). Several Canadian examples are illustrated in John C. Charyk, The Little White Schoolhouse, Saskatoon: Western Producer Book Service, 1968, passim. and p. 93. These buildings have nothing to distinguish them from the northeastern South Dakota examples.

19. Boorman, "A Frontier Learns of God and Man," p. 175. Ludeman attributes the term "one cylinder" school to M. M. Guhin, a major early-twentieth-century educator in South Dakota and "Father of the Young Citizens League." "Studies in the History of Public Education," p. 191.

20. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws Pertaining to State Standard Rural Schools and State Consolidated Schools of South Dakota, Pierre, S.D.: the Department, 1923, p. 6.

21. Boorman, "A Frontier Learns of God and Man," p. 175.

22. Dresslar, American Schoolhouses, p. 126.

23. The extensive descriptions that follow are based on the photographs and recorded observations made during field work and on "historic site forms" returned by residents in the neighborhoods of the schoolhouses described.

24. Butterworth, Rural School Survey, plate facing p. 121.

25. Charyk, The Little White Schoolhouse, p. 54.

26. In Quest of Free Land, San Jose: San Jose State College, 1964, p. 148.

27. Charyk, The Little White Schoolhouse, illustrations, passim., and p. 93.

28. Dresslar, American Schoolhouses, pp. 107-110. This four page bibliography on school architecture and sanitation compiled in 1910 has several entries from before 1900. The Bureau of Education 106 page circular was entitled Rural School Architecture, but how much attention was given to rural school plans in the other early volumes cannot be determined from their titles.

29. S. A. Challman, The Rural School Plant. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1917, pp. 64-68. Challman, who was Commissioner of School Buildings for Minnesota, was making basically a standard recommendation. Dresslar, in American Schoolhouses published in 1911, made much the same recommendations on pp. 67-76.

30. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ninth Biennial Report,

1907-1908, Pierre, S.D., 1908, pp. 359-363.

31. Challman, The Rural School Plant, pp. 69-74; Fletcher B. Dresslar, Rural Schoolhouses and Grounds, U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1914, No. 12, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914, pp. 42-61.

32. Challman, The Rural School Plant, pp. 75-147, and Dresslar, Rural Schoolhouses and Grounds, pp. 62-114 and plates following p. 162, illustrate a variety of floorplans and exterior designs.

33. Dresslar, Rural Schoolhouses and Grounds, Plate 19A (Texas) and Plate 24A (New York), and Challman, The Rural School Plant, pp. 104, 107 (both Minnesota), p. 125 (Oklahoma), and p. 92 (Wisconsin), show such plain designs. Porches offer relief in the Minnesota designs, while the Wisconsin plan called for a large stone chimney on the exterior of one side. Some rather plain schoolhouses of this type in Canada are shown on pp. 70-77 in Charyk, The Little White Schoolhouse.

34. The Rural School Plant, p. 72.

35. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ninth Biennial Report, pp. 359-389.

36. Such a call came from the Legislative Committee of SDEA in 1910 with Superintendent of Public Instruction H. A. Ustrud leading the list of signers. R. W. Kraushaar, State School Support for South Dakota Public Schools, A Brief History of the Movement Since Statehood, Bulletin 2, Pierre, S.D.: South Dakota Department of Public Instruction and the South Dakota Education Association, 1933, pp. 9-11.

37. The findings and recommendations were published in U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, Bulletin, 1918, No. 31, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. vii-viii.

38. Ibid., pp. 60-62.

39. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 276.

40. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws, p. 4.

41. Ibid.

42. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," pp. 281-282.

43. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws, p. 33.

44. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

45. Ibid., pp. 30, 32.

46. Challman, The Rural School Plant, pp. 102-106.

47. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws, p. 33.

48. This description is based on photographs in Ibid., pp. 10-13. Ruth V. Johnson, a former county superintendent of Brown County, says Plainview School is now utilized as a church.

49. Federal Writer's Project, Schools and Their Builders, Mitchell, S.D.: Works Progress Administration of South Dakota, 1939, p. 4.

50. Beadle hoped that the township districts might provide a central school where the older pupils might be brought together by riding horseback (a kind of junior high school) and even high schools. William Henry Harrison Beadle, Autobiography of William Henry Harrison Beadle, Pierre, S.D.: South Dakota State Historical Society, 1938, pp. 90-91. Reprinted from volume 3 of South Dakota Historical Collections, 1906.

51. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 253.

52. Ibid., p. 262.

53. U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, p. 30.

54. Ibid., p. 72.

55. Ibid., p. 67.

56. Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education," pp. 437-438.

57. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws, pp. 40, 66.

58. Ibid., pp. 82-85.

59. Doane Robinson, South Dakota, Sui Generis, 3 vols., Chicago: American Historical Society, 1930, vol. 1, p. 99.

60. The Logan school district was consolidated into the Clark school in 1967, and the building was dismantled soon thereafter. Its origins and structure are described in detail here because the information has been compiled and published. Melba Olverson, Memories of Logan, 1976, unpaged, passim.

61. Ibid., text references and photographs.

62. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws, p. 66. Photographs of early-1920s school buses are on pp. 42 and 51.

63. Ibid., p. 71. The rest of the information on Elrod Consoidated School is from the fieldwork.

64. Ibid., p. 40 and information from field observation and a "historic site form."

65. Challman, The Rural School Plant, p. 209; Dresslar, Rural Schoolhouses and Grounds, pp. 15, 122-125. Dresslar had a special interest in twelve-month residency as he advocated experimental gardens associated with the school to improve the farming practices of the locale.

66. The Educational System of South Dakota, p. 213.

67. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws, p. 28.

68. Ibid., p. 35.

69. Robinson, South Dakota, Sui Generis, vol. 1, p. 419.

70. Olverson, Memories of Logan, passim. and informants in Clark County.

71. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thirty-First Biennial Report, July 1, 1950 to June 30, 1952, Pierre, 1952, p. 81.

72. Thorpe, "Educational System of South Dakota," p. 280. U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota cites statistics to show South Dakota teacher salaries in 1916 to have been lower than those in all the other middle-western and western states, p. 217.

73. Simon, "Declining Rural School Population," describes the process in detail in Brookings County up to 1940, pp. 12-18.

74. Thorpe, "Educational System of South Dakota," p. 317.

75. Ibid., p. 339.

76. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thirty-First Biennial Report, p. 93.

77. Elmer Dietrich, "A History of Common School Districts in Hand County, South Dakota," Research Project for Specialist Degree in Education, University of South Dakota, 1973, p. 68,

78. Simon, "Declining Rural School Population," p. 25, map.

79. The data on names come from "historic site forms" and local histories that have school sections.

The Country School as a Community Center in South Dakota

A Research Report

by

Philip L. Brown

Librarian-Researcher

Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier

A National Endowment for the Humanities Grant

to the

Mountain Plains Library Association

February, 1981

The country schoolhouse was often the only public building in its district. As a result, the people of the district often used it for a meeting place for a wide variety of joint activities. The kinds of activities and the frequency of community use tended to increase when the school served a larger area and populace and when the schoolhouse was in a rural community that was rather remote from any village or town. Purely commercial activities seem not to have been carried on at the schoolhouse, and only one report has been received of political meetings at rural schoolhouses.[1]

The use of the schoolhouse for other activities was sanctioned by General William Henry Harrison Beadle during his tenure as territorial superintendent of public instruction. In a pamphlet he published in 1882 to instruct school district boards in the management of schools and to promote township districts and a $10 per acre minimum price for the school lands, he noted that "religious, social and even political associations may without offense be accomodated" in their desires to use the schoolhouse "if the privilege be impartially granted."[2] In 1921 the Department of Public Instruction provided several standard schoolhouse designs to be on file in the offices of the county superintendents. Most of the plans called for full basements which would provide space for a community room.[3]

Continuing traditions that were firmly established in the states to the east, the rural schools in Dakota Territory and later South Dakota themselves provided certain community activities, although the degree of involvement of the whole community varied from place to place. Universal were the Christmas program and the end-of-school picnic.

In its less elaborate form, the Christmas program was held primarily

for families of the pupils on the afternoon of the last day of school before Christmas. Much of the program had a religious theme in keeping with the holiday. There were recitations and skits. For gaiety, some humorous skits usually were included--they often related to school life. In more elaborate versions the Christmas program was held in the evening, and the entire community was invited. Typically, as in all other evening meetings, each family brought a lantern to hang on the wall to help light the schoolroom. There would be singing; one teacher noted that she staged operettas at the Christmas programs of one school she taught for three years.[4] A Christmas tree lighted with candles and decorated with ornaments, tinsel and popcorn strings was sometimes provided. Santa Claus very likely made an appearance to distribute stockings filled with goodies to the children.

The end of the school year in the spring brought the school picnic. Parents and others in the community might attend. Again the pupils were expected to perform with recitations and skits. It also often was the occasion for a group photograph at the schoolhouse. In some instances the picnic itself would be held in a neighborhood grove that had become a picnic ground.

In some school districts these entertainments were enjoyed so much in this era when isolation meant there was little enjoyment to be had, except what the community organized for itself, that additional programs were put on at Halloween, Valentines Day, and even Mothers Day.

The basket social was a community activity that probably occurred at least occasionally in every rural school. The girls and young women would each prepare a special meal for two in a box or basket. The men and lads would bid for the right to share a girl's basket with her. It was especially fun to

force the teacher's "fellow" to bid an outrageous price for the privilege of sharing her basket. Prices of $6 and $7, which represented more than a day's wages, were sometimes forced out of the gallant young man who dared not lose the bid. Entertainment was part of the basket social also. It might consist of local talent singing, or, in communities less concerned with what was appropriate to do in a schoolhouse, it could be a party or even a dance.

The basket social and its occasional variant, the pie social, raised money for activites that might not be considered appropriate for tax money, such as paying for the Christmas stockings, or to supplement the equipment of the school. A bell, playground equipment, or library books might be bought with the proceeds of a basket social.

A schoolhouse located near the center of a rural township usually became the polling place for all elections in addition to those concerning the school. It meant a day off from school for the children whenever an election was held. Many townships took ownership of the schoolhouse that had been the polling place when consolidation closed the rural schools to continue their use for voting. A large portion of the schoolhouses that remain in a relatively good condition are maintained for polling places.

In the pioneer era and even as late as World War I, many rural schoolhouses were also used for religious activities in South Dakota. It was very common for Sunday school to be held in a rural schoolhouse when there was no nearby church. In a community that was predominately native-American stock, a nondenominational church service might be held. Preachers would come out of the villages and hold Sunday afternoon services in rural schoolhouses.[5] In a community with a strong representation of a particular ethnic group,

a congregation might be organized and meet for decades in a schoolhouse. The Lone Tree Lutheran Church met thusly in the Farview School in Deuel County on Sunday afternoons with a minister coming out from the village of Brandt. The Pleasant Valley School, also in Deuel County, was the home of the Menenga Lutheran Church (Norwegian) for many years. Using a minister from a nearby town, the whole round of religious activities are reported to have occurred there: baptisms, confirmations, weddings, and funerals, in addition to the weekly services. The congregation established a cemetery across the sectionline road on what was hoped to be the site of an eventual church. Instead, advent of the automobile led these Lutherans to drive to town for church. It was about that time generally that church services and Sunday school generally ceased to be held in rural schools, although many congregations moved into their own churches in the countryside many years earlier.

Good

A very large portion of those rural churches that did get established were the outgrowth of congregations that met in their early years in a schoolhouse. The Dakola Congregational Church in southern Kingsbury County met about twenty years in the Brown School. Later, when a new schoolhouse was built, it took the name of the church which had once used its predecessor. The same sequences without the name borrowing occurred in German-Russian communities. The Bethel Mennonite Church of rural Marion met in the West Vermillion #17 School from when it was built in 1883 until a church was constructed in 1892. It was not an isolated incident among the Mennonites.[6]

Good

Farmer organizations are the next most common groups after church congregations in rural communities. Often they used a rural schoolhouse for their

meetings. The Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Farmers Union are all reported as holding meetings in various rural schoolhouses. When the Agricultural Extension Service began to encourage the formation of local extension clubs among farm women and 4-H clubs among rural youth as a means of spreading modern household management ideas and agricultural practices, a number of these clubs adopted the local country schoolhouses as their meeting places.

Community clubs made their appearance in some locales in the same World War I era that spawned the extension clubs and 4-H clubs. Where community clubs became firmly established, the school usually also was strong, particularly if the community club chose to use the schoolhouse for its meetings and socials. Certainly this tendency was the case in the Latham School, which served an entire rural township in Faulk County. The design of the new building in the early 1930s to replace a burned predecessor shows a concern to meet the needs of the community club as well as the school. The community room in the basement was equipped with an arched stage, and the schoolhouse had a Delco generator to provide electric lighting for evening activities.

The Day Betterment Club made the Day #16A School east of Clark the site of its monthly meetings for fifty years. Its needs were probably influential in the design of the brick schoolhouse that was built in the early 1920s with an arched stage to one side of the classroom and a large community room in the basement. The monthly meetings generally included a meal, and frequently the school children were called upon to provide entertainment.

Under the aegis of one organization or another, other activities are reported as having happened in rural schools. To get through the winter

months, lyceums were sometimes organized, debates were staged, spelling bees were put on, and singing schools were held.[7] These events were generally well attended. Some schoolhouses were used for wedding dances, and even plain rural hoe-downs.

A rather common activity for young people in a community was to put on a play. The taste may have developed out of the skits for school programs, and they were certainly enjoyed by folks who had no access to more sophisticated drama. Black-face farces had a particular appeal, and comic plays or melodramas were the usual fare. Sometimes, plays were used as a fundraising activity for major purchases for the school. In such a case the play might be taken on the road, so to speak, to nearby communities. The people of a rural school district in Spirit Lake Township in northern Kingsbury County paid for a new floor in the schoolhouse by this method in the early 1900s with a black-face play entitled Down in Dixie.

At a minimum the rural school teacher had to prepare her pupils with recitations and skits for the Christmas program and the program associated with the end of the school year. We have seen how additional programs were added in many schools for other holidays and for the entertainement of community clubs. While there were old favorites for recitations, the audiences and the pupils both appreciated some novelty. Many publications were issued to help the teacher to find new pieces and skits. A major source of such publications in South Dakota was the Hub City Supply Company, a firm operated by M. M. Guhin, who also edited and published The Rural Educator, a monthly magazine for rural schools in South Dakota, between World Wars I and II. From time to time it carried advertisements for upward of a dozen

such booklets.

In some rural communities the schoolhouse was the hub of social life. The variety of activities that it housed varied according to the size of the community it served, its remoteness from a village or town, the existence of a church, and the standards of the community as to what was acceptable social activity in a schoolhouse. Some communities would never permit the dances that other communities held in their schoolhouses. Undoubtedly, the amount and variety of activities also depended upon the inclinations and organizing abilities of particular individuals. Some communities never used their schoolhouses for much beyond school activities because a tradition of such activities did not develop from the work of a few early organizers.

NOTE

1. Most of the information for this report comes from the field work: site form data and oral history interviews. Only information from printed sources is cited in the notes.

2. Dakota Schools, Yankton, 1882; reprinted on pp. 247-265 in South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. 3, 1906, p. 259.

3 South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws Pertaining to State Standard Rural Schools and State Consolidated School of South Dakota, Pierre, S.D.: The Department, 1023, pp. 32-34.

4. Ruth Morgan, ed., Memoirs of South Dakota Retired Teachers, Stickney, S.D.: Argus Printers, 1976, p. 101.
5. James Harvey Biggar, These Eighty-One Years, Chicago: Prairie Publishers, 1935, p. 23.

6. J. J. Mendel, History of the People of East Freeman, Silver Lake and West Freeman from 1528 to 1961 and History of Freeman (Continued 1958-1961), Freeman, S.D., 1962, p. 188, passim.

7. Biggar, These Eighty-One Years, p. 25.

Country School Teachers in South Dakota to 1950

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Booklet → p4, 5, 13, 22

copy →

p21, great! → Immigrant Paper
20

p2 Laura Ingalls

This paper will examine, in an incomplete way, several aspects of teaching in the rural schools of South Dakota from pioneer times to about 1950. Topics to be included are origin, age, sex, and experience of the teachers in country schools, their education for teaching, their wages, their conditions of employment, and their methods of maintaining discipline.

Throughout the twentieth century the elementary schools in city, village and country settings in the United States have been staffed primarily with women teachers. It had not always been so; teaching, even at the primary level, had once been a chiefly male occupation. A transition took place during the nineteenth century, and this transition was well-advanced by the time Dakota Territory was settled.

Although it has been claimed that in the frontier period of the high-plains states up to 1890 the number of men and women teachers was about even,[1] the percentage of male teachers in South Dakota was never that high. In 1880 men comprised 41 percent of all teachers in South Dakota; by 1890 the male percentage dropped to 29.[2] In Day County in the fall of 1886 there were 19 male and 73 female teachers.[3] The male percentage in the rural schools tended to drift lower to the end of our period in 1950. In 1907 only 641 (15 percent) of the 4348 rural school teachers were male.[4] Because men teachers tended to be concentrated in the indenpendent school systems that offered high school instruction, the percentage of men teachers in rural schools was certainly lower than the 15 percent of all South Dakota teachers that they comprised in 1916.[5] The percentage of male teachers in rural schools probably did not vary greatly thereafter; in 1950 the 272 male teachers represented almost nine percent of the total of 3079 teachers in common

schools that fall.[6] This ratio fits well with the information received about the sex of the teachers during oral history interviews.

There were not enough qualified teachers in the first years of settlement, although "enough educated people came West for the purpose of homesteading to furnish a considerable number of teachers."[7] Others with but slight education themselves came from the east to the frontier and took teaching jobs to support themselves. Eliza St. John, a southeastern Minnesota farmgirl, who took a teacher's course in high school but did not graduate, at age 19 came to Brookings County in 1883 and was certified to teach after passing an examination by the county superintendent.[8] She generally fit the pattern referred to by another pioneer teacher, Neva Whaley Harding, of a woman who took a homestead claim while teaching and found a husband.[9] St. John, without stating them directly in her memoir, clearly had both motives in mind when coming to Dakota Territory to teach. She referred to "those famous Dakota bachelors we used to hear so much about" in reference to a claim shanty occupied by a solitary male, and she attempted to homestead in a locale where other teachers were homesteading only to have the bad luck to find her quarter section already occupied. By the end of 1885 she married and stopped teaching.[10]

As soon as the towns developed, they began supplying teachers for the rural schools.[11] Neva Harding graduated from DeSmet's two-year high school in 1889 at age 17 and taught the next two years in rural schools in Kingsbury County.[12] Earlier in the decade Laura Ingalls at age 15 had gone out to teach in rural schools from the same DeSmet until she married, and she later told her experience in fictionalized form in These Happy Golden Years.[13]

Harding explained her decision to become a teacher out of high school very matter-of-factly by noting that at that time the choice for a girl wanting to support herself were few: clerking in a store, hiring out for household help, or teaching.[14] Since the terms were short, St. John fell back on household work, and even field work, between terms.[15]

The local common school district board hired its teacher(s), but from the earliest days of Dakota Territory the teacher first had to be certified. The certification process was at first mainly in the hads of the county superintendent, who was required by law in 1863 "to examine all who applied for teaching certificates in moral character, learning and ability to teach." The resulting certificate was good in the county of issue only. It was a printed form that read, "This is to certify that Mary Doe has been examined and found competent to give instruction in orthography, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and geography and having exhibited satisfactory evidence of good moral character is authorized to teach these branches in any common school within this county."[16]

Particularly in the early years of teacher shortages, the county superintendent served as an employment agency by finding teachers for school districts that could not find teachers themselves. The need for teachers simply meant that the standard set for passing the examination for certification was set as low as needed. The territorial legislature tried to improve this situation with a uniform teacher's examination law embodying a system of several grades of certificates in 1879.[17] As a method of training both in subject matter and methodology, a system of county teachers' institutes was established early with the first one held at Elk Point in Union County

in 1867.[18] Held annually, they typically lasted two weeks and were attended by all who hoped to obtain certificates and find employment as teachers. Neva Harding attended such an institute as a preliminary to passing the examination and receiving a third grade certificate at age 17.[19] Although she was a town girl, frequently a bright student would finish the elementary rural school, go to the teachers institute, take the examination at its close, and teach pupils of the same grade he or she had just completed.[20] The teachers institute was very helpful to the county superintendent in his de facto role of employment agency.

In Day County the first teachers institute was held in the summer of 1886 with 40 enrollees. Standards began to rise fairly shortly thereafter. The first refusal in Day County to grant a certificate after examination occurred in January 1886, and in April 1887 three out of 17 candidates were rejected.[21] Still, when the need arose, on the assumption that a poor teacher was better than none at all, candidates would be granted probationary certificates good for brief periods until all vacancies were filled.[22] } HA!

The state school law of 1891 replicated the practices of teacher certification as developed in the last decade of territorial government. The state Superintendent of public instruction was to prepare all questions for the examination of teachers by county superintendents. A county normal institute was to be held each summer, and it was to last at least two weeks with public examination of teachers to be held at its close. The county superintendent could grant two levels of teaching certificates. The second grade certificate was granted to a candidate who passed examination in orthography, reading, writing, geography, English grammar, physiology, hygiene and history of the

United States. It was good for one year and could not be renewed for more than four years. The candidate for a first grade certificate also had to pass examinations in civil government, didactics, elementary book-keeping and current events. The first grade certificate was granted for two years and could be renewed twice (or more on special permission of the county superintendent). Candidates had to be of good moral character and at least 17 years of age.

The state superintendent of public instruction could grant state certificates good for teaching in any school of the state to those persons who passed an examination in algebra, geometry, natural philosphy, physiology and hygiene, drawing, civil government, didactics, general history, and American literature. The character of the paper submitted in the examination was to determine the candidate's knowledge of English grammar, orthography, and penmanship. The candidate had to possess three years of experience. Graduates of the state normal schools (which were post-eighth grade programs at that time) could receive the certificate without examination. The state certificates ran five years. No examination was required for renewal after the second state certificate. A life diploma could be granted to persons of still higher qualifications.[23]

Before 1907 the third grade certificate, issued by the county superintendent, was revived. The only difference between it and the second grade certificate was a lower score on the examination would qualify a candidate for it. In the rural schools in 1906-1907 only five teachers had life diplomas, 303 had state certificates, 400 had the first grade county certificate, 1969 had the second grade, and 1500 had the third grade certificate.

The overwhelming majority of rural school teachers held certificates that indicated minimal qualifications and very few years of experience.[24]

Educational leaders in South Dakota expressed growing concern over the poor conditions of rural education, including the level of training and experience of the teachers, during the Progressive Era. Superintendent of Public Instruction H. A. Ustrud headed the list of signers of a call by the Legislative Committtee of the South Dakota Educational Association for a study commission as early as 1910.[25] The legislature in 1917 authorized a state educational survey, which was done under the auspices of the U.S. Bureau of Education.[26]

The authors of the resulting report stated their general conclusion about the competency of the teachers in a general outline of the educational system near the beginning of the report: "Public education in the State suffers . . . because the schools are manned largely by immature persons of meager preparation and limited professional outlook."[27]

In 1916, the year of the data of the survey, the same classes of certificates were still being used as earlier, but the grading of tests and the issuing of the first, second, and third grade certificates had since been taken over by the Department of Public Instruction. The first and second grade certificates were open to persons who completed a certain amount of course work at a normal school as well as to persons passing the examination. The third grade certificate, earned with lower scores on the same test as for the second grade certificate, was obtainable only by examination and ran only one year. Upon examination it could be obtained once again but no more after that. In 1916, 57 percent of rural teachers held the second grade

certificate, 25 percent had the first grade certificate, 11 percent had the state certificate, and only one percent held the life diploma. Six percent taught that year with the third grade certificate.[28] Although still low, rural teacher qualifications had advanced considerably over those of a decade earlier.

After 1911 the first grade certificate could be obtained with four years in a normal school after the eighth grade or a single year normal course after graduating from a four-year high school. The second grade certificate could be obtained with a two year normal course after the eighth grade.[29] These increases in standards of professional training still presumed a sub-college level of endeavor for virtually all the teaching certificates held by teachers in the country schools.

In the years that followed, standards would rise to require teachers to be high school graduates as well as to have completed some level of work in a normal school or teachers college. The progress, however, was not as rapid as recommended by the survey authors, who called for the lowest grade of certificate after 1924 to require two years of normal school training above high school graduation.[30] For the more immediate future, they recommended establishing normal departments as fifth-year courses in up to 20 fully-accredited high schools.[31] The state in 1919 acted upon the latter recommendation by offering state aid to normal courses within the four-year term of high school to one high school in each county. Although 506 persons graduated from such courses in 1922, Superintendent of Public Instruction St. John in 1926 recommended the abolition of the program or its elevation to a fifth year of high school.[32] In 1923 the normal schools were granted

permission to transform themselves into teachers colleges,[33] and the teacher-training programs were rapidly transformed into post-high school courses. Still, in 1934, Superintendent of Public Instruction I. D. Weeks was unsuccessful that year in urging the discontinuance of granting the second grade certificate by examination, the only still obtainable by that procedure.[34]

World War II, which created high-paying job opportunities for women, brought teacher shortages. To staff the schools, educational qualifications for certification had to be lowered. The pre-war requirement that six semester hours of college credit must be earned to renew certificates was removed, and retired teachers with lapsed certificates were urged back into the schools. The practice of granting a second grade certificate to a high school graduate who completed a six-weeks summer course in teaching methods was instituted as an emergency measure.[35] In 1941-42 the average training of rural school teachers in South Dakota exceeded one year of college. The average level of training dropped thereafter and remained below the pre-war peak into the early 1950s.[36]

The U.S. Bureau of Education survey during World War I noted that some teachers had practically no preparation at all. It found that in 1916 58 percent of the rural teachers had completed a four-year high school course, and very few had attended college. 46 percent of the rural teachers had attended regular courses at normal schools or colleges of education, but 54 percent had been certified by examination only. Of those receiving professional training, one-fourth were trained in other states.[37]

Field studies and oral history interviews with persons who remember this period reflect those findings. The period was one of a shortage of highly-

qualified teachers in South Dakota; young people with education and training just as slight as those in the pioneer memoirs which were described above were entering rural schools at very young ages to teach. One young girl with an eighth-grade education began teaching at age sixteen in 1905 near Hosmer in Edmunds County and taught two years before moving on to secretarial work. Another taught at age seventeen in McPherson County freshout of the eighth grade for one year and later went to normal school, when it was on the high school level, at the later Northern State College. A young man graduated from high school in 1917 and taught in 1918-1919 in a rural school in Hand County on the basis of examination. A young woman with a high school education in Minnesota and a one-year normal course from Hamline University in St. Paul came west to Meade County in western South Dakota to teach initially because a teacher shortage meant higher salaries there. For the eastern edge of the state in this period Minnesota supplied many young teachers. This tendency was particularly noted in Grant County.

All the persons interviewed on oral history tapes who entered teaching in the 1920s and 1930s were high school graduates. A 1921 high school graduate was one of those whose final year of high school was the state-aided normal course in selected high schools as authorized by law in 1919. Six interviewees had a one-year, host-high school normal course in the teachers colleges, as they were then known, before they started teaching. Two interviewees took a two-year normal course in the teachers colleges for what they called a "two-year" certificate. Those interviewees who stayed in teaching for very long added credits by correspondence, summer courses, and night school due to the state's certificate renewal requirements and/or to upgrade

to the "two-year" state certificate. The educational attainments, and presumbably the competency, of the rural school teaching corps was improving rapidly in the interwar period.

The single interviewee who began teaching in 1948, when the war-induced teacher shortage was not yet over, was a "six-weeks wonder": a high school graduate with a summer methods course.

Even in the territorial period and the early years of statehood, the system of certification had required that after a few years the teacher must show greater educational attainments, at least in the scope of the examination he or she must pass in order to obtain a higher grade certificate after eligibility to renew a lower grade of certificate ran out. The lowest grades of certification could not be continually applied for after a few years experience. Before college credit became the chief form of showing additional educational attainment, the county normal institute with required attendance was used as one form of continuing education. These county institutes lasted at least into the 1930s.[38]

Another form of continuing education that began in the territorial period was the Teachers' Reading Circle. Not unique or original to South Dakota, it was organized in the state in 1886 under the aegis of the South Dakota Educational Association, with General William Henry Harrison Beadle, former territorial superintendent of public instruction, as its first president, although its inception goes back to 1881. Under a board which outlined a course of reading, county superintendents were made managers. The original course covered four years' work, but it was expanded to sixteen years by the twentieth century's beginning. By 1900 one-half of the teachers in the state

enrolled, with the largest number being the teachers of the country schools, the ones the Teachers' Reading Circle was intended to assist.

The same two or three books were read by all the participants across the state in a particular year. Typically the titles were divided between subject matter and books of pedagogy or school management. Participants could write examinations based on the year's work at the time examinations for certification were held. Success on the exams of four years entitled the teacher to a diploma. Continued participation was encouraged by a system of seals for each additional four years until sixteen years of reading had been examined.

After 1893 the the superintendent of public instruction was an honorary member of the the board of the Teachers' Reading Circle. In 1907 the legislature gave the Teachers' Reading Circle legal sanction, by making its local management and the conducting of its examinations part of the official duties of the county superintendents. Prior to that date the Department of Public Instruction had accepted the Teachers' Reading Circle diploma in lieu of the written examination in didactics when a teacher applied for a state certificate. In 1907 the policy was set to permit a teacher who was certified as having passed the current year's Teachers' Reading Circle examination to be credited with up to 10 points in any subject and up to 50 points total on the examination for a certificate for which the teacher was a candidate. Current Teachers' Reading Circle work was to be considered also for reissuance of certificates.[39]

The Teachers' Reading Circle was disbanded in 1927 as having outlived its usefulness in an era when summer and extension courses had become the preferred

mode of continuing education.[40]

The trend of rural teachers' salaries did not follow the trends of educational attainment even if the factors of inflation and deflation were to be factored out. More potent influences appear to have been the general state of South Dakota's economy and the balance of supply and demand. In pioneer days the salaries were low, but cash was generally scarce on the agricultural frontier. Thus, a shortage of teachers did not push salaries above their customary low level for rural elementary teachers in more settled areas to the east. There was a sex differential. In 1883 the average wage for a female teacher in Dakota Territory was $30.70 per month; the males averaged $39.70 per month.[41] The average term of school was only three to four months in the 1880s, so the teacher's income was also highly irregular.

By 1907 average salaries increased to $47.08 per month for men and to $42.45 for women as the differential closed somewhat. The average length of the rural school term was approaching seven months (132 da[illegible]o the teacher's income was somewhat more regular.[42] The U.S. Bureau [illegible]ation survey found that almost one-half of the teachers in 1915-1916 ear[illegible] betwenn $400 and $500 for the school term of about eight months. Probably the vast majority of the nine percent who earned over $600 worked in town schools. The average salary of $433.71 in South Dakota trailed average teacher salaries in all other middle western and western states. While Nebraska paid its teachers almost as poorly, North Dakota teachers averaged $574.76, Colorado teachers over $600, and Nevada teachers $782.86, nearly twice as much as a typical South Dakota teacher.[43]

With such low salaries, there were teacher shortages in 18 counties.[44]

The survey had shown some woefully-undereducated teachers, and the interviews uncovered individuals of that class from that period. Educational leaders in the state had long recognized that low wages and undereducated teachers were linked problems that needed solution. In 1919 in addressing the South Dakota Educational Association, Superintendent of Public Instruction Fred L. Shaw blamed the shortage of teachers upon low wages and noted that the low wages made it difficult for the teachers to improve their educational attainments. Married persons, he asserted, could not support a household and family in the profession, and there was no permanency with the single teachers. In words intended to shock, he continued:

> No man or woman with a family could possibly live and support it on the salary of an ordinary teacher. No man or woman with any degree of ability has to. The average rural teacher is nothing more than a high grade tramp, wandering around from school to school, here today, gone tomorrow, with no permanent home, no particular interest in the community. If she fails in her work there is always some other country school board willing to employ her.[45]

On an annual basis, a teacher's salary in South Dakota in the World War I era was equal to that commanded by a delivery boy in a city grocery.[46]

The increased educational standards for certification that were set by the state in the 1920s were accompanied by moderately rising salaries. The eight-month school term was now standard in rural schools, so part of the increase merely reflected the longer term. Nevertheless, rural teachers' salaries advanced on the average from $771.20 per year in 1920 to $905.50 in 1930.[47] In the 1930s, the decade of hardship due to the Great Depression and the drought that will be ever remembered as the Dirty Thirties, teachers' salaries plunged. The average had fallen to $627.70 by 1933, and by mid-

decade the average salary was 48 percent lower than in 1930.[48] There was no shortage of teachers even at the low salary levels of the mid-1930s. Any income became significant, and teaching jobs were sought after. In the field work and interviews, teachers were found whose salary pattern reflected the trend of the average. Women who were earning over $100 per month in rural schools in the late 1920s dropped as low as $45 and even $40 per month in Hand County in the depth of the Great Depression. They often received their pay in warrants which they had to hold or sell at a discount. Helen A. Bride earned $120 per month in 1926 but was down to $40 per month in 1936. Experience counted for little, and the number of pupils in the school did not make a great difference.[49] Supply and demand ruled as salary schedules to reflect experience and education were not adopted by common school boards.

Salaries began to recover slowly even before World War II. That war induced both an exodus out of teaching into better-paying war industry jobs, and also a drastic drop in enrollments in teacher preparation programs. The teacher shortage brought the median salary for fully-qualified elementary teachers up to $1000 by 1943-44, a figure on a par with the 1920s' high.[50]

In 1919 Superintendent of Public Instruction Shaw called the average rural teacher a "high grade tramp" because of the rapid changing of schools. The pioneer-era teachers who left memoirs in fictional or factual forms seem never to have taught two terms in the same school as well as to have retired from teaching after a brief career because of marriage.[51] The U.S. Bureau of Education's survey found in 1916 that the average career of a rural school teacher in South Dakota lasted but 3.76 years. Yet over two-thirds of those teaching in 1916 were not teaching in their first school. Indeed, just under

one-half of the rural school teachers had never taught more than one year in the same school. Only about 20 percent stayed in the same school for three years or longer.[52]

Although by 1916 the law required a teacher to be at least 18 years of age, the survey found two percent were 17 or even younger. Nearly 30 percent more were under the age of twenty. Over 40 percent were from 20 years to 25 years old. The one-fourth of the teachers who were over age 25 could be considered career teachers, but nearly one-half of those were under age 30.[53]

The pioneer-era pattern had not drastically changed. The survey examined the teachers' attituded toward their work as a career and found about one-half willing to say that they were only in teaching temporarily. Their reasons for planning to leave the profession were low salaries, bad housing conditions, working too hard, boredom with small schools, and an expectation of marrying.[54]

While blunt, insulting, and intended to catch attention, Shaw's characterization of the rural teaching staff on the whole does not seem wildly inaccurate. It is not, however, the whole story. The schools were staffed largely with women, but the standards of the times were against married women working, except in dire circumstances. Thus, teaching was used by intelligent young women as a means of self-support until marriage, much as in the pioneer era. The decision to stop teaching with marriage was not just a matter of custom: many school boards, interviewees said, would not consider a married teacher for fear of pregnancy during the term. Moreover, a married woman who might want to teach faced the active disapproval of those who would tell her that "a married woman had a husband to take care of her so she did not need to take the jobs away from single persons who need jobs."

That was the reception Helen A. Bride received in the 1020s when she defied the convention after marrying.[55]

Married teachers were rather uncommon in the country schools until after the onset of World War II. The former teachers consulted in the field studies who had lengthy carreers in rural schools in the twenties and thirties did not marry. Several who had taught a few years in that era before marrying and quitting, returned to teaching in the 1940s during the war-induced teacher shortage or at a later date. The lingering prejudice against married women in country schools was jettisoned as the state called upon all married former teachers to return to the classroom--nomatter if their certificates were lapsed.[56] The change was long-lasting; Helen A. Bride reported that two-thirds of the teachers in her county during the 1950s were married.[57]

The women who sat for oral history interviews invariably quit teaching when they married. The three who had continuous careers never married. The length of careers before marriage usually was longer than the average found in the U.S. Bureau of Education's survey, but the method of selection for interviewing probably assured that tendency. Several returned to teaching in the 1940s or later, one being out only five years.

Both the authors of the survey and Superintendent of Public Instruction Shaw found the frequent changing of schools undesirable. They thought housing conditions (boarding) were one reason and promoted teacherages, special living quarters provided for teachers. They thought teacherages and better salaries would attract married teachers and also cause the teachers to stay longer in the same school.[58] The teacherage movement died in the bud in South Dakota, and the number of married teachers remained low, as previously

noted.

Most of the teachers who were interviewed changed schools frequently. Their explanations of why reflect the natural results of the country school economic and social environment. The teacher had no ties of property or kin to keep her in the same school year after year. She would rarely move beyond a twenty-mile radius of her previous position and usually much less than that. She moved for a better salary, for a better building, to get away from a board, family, or group of children that had been unfriendly, and to find a school more convenient to visit her family. Some disliked schools with very low enrollments; others wished to avoid too full a load in a high-enrollment school. A few even developed an opinion that it was best to switch after two or three years so both the teacher and the pupils faced fresh relationships.

In the 1940s and after, the automobile permitted the teacher not to live within the district or immediately adjacent. It permitted the mobility that marriage might have restricted to continue.

There were exceptions to the general pattern of mobility, as even the U.S. Bureau of Education's survey had uncovered. A small number (about 0.2 percent) of teachers stayed in the same country school for decades.[59] These few were probably similar to Helen Bergh, who after two years teaching in northern Broun County was able to get the teaching position in the country school which she had attended, lived at home, never married, and stayed at Brookside School for 41 years until it closed by consolidation in 1970.[60]

Unsatisfactory living conditions as boarders have been cited as one problem driving teachers out of the profession before the automobile allowed

the teacher to chose private quarters in town or to live with her husband or her family at some distance from her country school. They were a major cause of low morale according to the results of the U.S. Bureau of Education's World War I-era survey, as noted above. The lack of privacy, loneliness, poor quarters, and poor food all were irritants. All these problems were especially acute in the earliest years of settlement, when virtually everyone was living in primitive, cramped quarters.[61] Some young teachers found the experience very rewarding; Neva Harding boarded with a German family and learned German cuisine and language.[62] > Good

Boarding constrained the teacher to maintain a very high standard of moral behavior continuously, even if the residents of the district did not hold themselves to it. The teacher had to be an exemplar of virtuous living because she or he was shaping impressionable children. The image must have stifled some perfectly normal and harmless behavior and may have been at the root of some complaints about boarding conditions. The standard printed contract form had no reference to behavior rules for the teacher, and school boards rarely supplied a written set of behavioral rules. Until earning certificates by passing normal courses in teachers colleges became the usual way of entering the profession by the 1920s, the county superintendent who administered the teaching examinations was also to ascertain the moral character of the teacher candidates. They could withdraw the certificates upon reports of improper behavior.[63]

Interviewees who were asked about rules restricting their behavior as teachers said that the rules were never set forth, but they just knew they had to be very upright. None indicated any problem with being able to court, > Ha!

but they probably were very decorous about it.

Thus, the above evidence makes the following detailed and restrictive rules for teachers from Dakota Territory in 1872 very atypical in fact even if the behavioral rules are merely more restrictive in practice than in spirit in comparison with the unspoken and unwritten standards which teachers long recognized as expected.[64]

Instructions to Teachers

Dakota Territory

September, 1872

1. Teachers will fill lamps, clean chimneys and trim wicks each day.
2. Each teacher will bring a scuttle of coal and a bucket of water for the day's use.
3. Make your pens carefully. You may whittle nibs for the individual tastes of children.
4. Men teachers may take one evening each week for courting purposes or two evenings a week if they go to church regularly.
5. After ten hours in school, the teacher should spend the remaining time reading the Bible or other good books.
6. Women teachers who marry or engage in other unseemly conduct will be dismissed.
7. Every teacher should lay aside from his pay a goodly sum for his declining years so that he will not become a burden on society.
8. Any teacher who smokes, uses liquor in any form, frequents a pool or public hall, or gets shaved in a barber shop will give good reason for suspecting his worth, intentions, integrity and honesty.
9. The teacher who performs his labors faithfully and without fault for five years will be given an increase of 25 cents a week in his pay providing the board of education approves.

While the teachers were expected to be exemplars of decorous behavior, they had to deal with young spirits who often were of no mind to behave mannerly

at school. Discipline, always a concern with children in groups, was affected by the special circumstances of the one-room school. The teacher in the instance of problem behavior had no one for an immediate backup. If a teacher failed to establish control, nearly complete breakdowns in order could and did occur. The Hoosier Schoolmaster is not much of an exaggeration of the situation in some schools.

The discipline problem may have been greatest in the first years of the frontier when life was very hard even for children, and they may have been more prone to seek fun through misbehavior. The typical teacher was young, and many of the pupils were overaged so that some pupils might be older than the teacher. In this circumstance the teacher could not rely upon size and the degree of respect for adults that was possessed by the usual elementary school child.

The experiences of Eliza St. John Brophy may have been atypical in the severity of the discipline problem, but they are illustrative of what could happen in a frontier school. Her first school of 22 students was one-half Finnish and had students up to 16 years of age. The oldest native-American boy was bored and thought up pranks for all. She resorted to corporal punishment with a ruler and willow switches, but she had to be skillful because the older boys were of a mind to fight back. She ultimately expelled the oldest boy. She refused to return to that school another term when it was offered to her. In her second school she was asked to accept two large boys who had thrown a male teacher out the window in a neighboring district. When they commenced to chew tobacco and spit it, she ignored them for three days, and they did not come back. In still another school a problem developed

with immigrant children bringing binder twine to play cat's cradle during school hours. So she gathered all the string and made a rope of it. She then made a noose and hung it from the strongest peg on the wall. One of the older immigrant boys told the children in their language that she was going to hang them. She did not contradict him and by mean looks gained the upper hand.[65]

Neva Harding, a half decade later, had few discipline problems. She recalled only a girl who tended to fall asleep and the perennial problem of too many wanting to go out of the schoolhouse to the privy. Naturally, her rule of one at a time had its consequence of an accident.[66]

Most of the teachers interviewed for oral history tapes did not have many problems with discipline. They seemed able to establish control with fairness and a positive approach that may have depended upon their personalities. They claimed rarely to have resorted to any form of corporal punishment. One reported using a dunce seat. One teacher in the depths of the Great Depression reluctantly took a school that had driven out three teachers the year before. Before accepting the job, she went to inspect the schoolhouse and found it in shambles. The children had dug out a big hideout under the schoolhouse and had even dragged some of the school desks into it. She insisted on things being shipshape before she took the job, and she began with firmness without corporal punishments. She got through the year with only one incident in which after a moment of confrontation she found that giving the boy some positive outlet won him to her side. The next year she took a different school, and that school again became a problem school.

An elderly man, who was not recorded, was recruited fresh out of high

school in the World War I period by the county superintendent to finish out a term in a problem school The superintendent wanted a male to handle a problem older boy. For a couple of weeks the neophyte, untrained teacher and the boy sized up each other. The significant incident came on a spring day when it warmed up. The teacher proposed to take all the pupils to the farm a quarter mile away where they got the school's water at the noon hour. The problem boy refused to go along and when the teacher was gone, fired up the stove to the point that it was a threat to burn the schoolhouse down. The teacher had seen the smoke and arrived at his punishment before returning. He held class outdoors but told the boy that he had to stay inside to work math problems. He gave the boy enough to take several hours. When the boy threw open the windows, the teacher told him to shut them as he did not want the boy exposed to a draught. After an hour the boy came to the door, soaking in perspiration, and told the teacher that he had won. The boy was no further problem and, in fact, became friendly.

Whatever response the teacher made to the need for discipline, she or he usually could count on home backing. Several teachers said that awareness of this informal alliance of parents and teachers was a great help in keeping misbehavior in bounds.

The teachers in South Dakota's rural schools up to 1950 usually were young and female, single, poorly-paid, often only slightly trained, and typically only stayed in teaching until marriage. The teachers with long careers in country schools never married. Clearly, teaching in country schools was regarded as a way for unmarried women to support themselves. They were to be exemplars of model behavior, a requirement that was written

into state law. The greatest change over time up to World War II was increasing standards of education for entry into teaching. The ability to establish control was absolutely crucial even if discipline did not seem to be a problem to many successful teachers.

1. Everett Dick, The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890, Lincoln, Neb.: Johnsen Publishing Co., 1954, p. 323.

2. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ninth Biennial Report, 1907-1908, Pierre, S.D., 1908, p. 68.

3. J. Olson Anders, "Educational Beginnings in a Typical Prairie County," Rural Sociology, vol. 7, 1942, p. 430.

4. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ninth Biennial Report, p. 68.

5. U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, Bulletin, 1918, No. 31, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, p. 209.

6. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thirty-First Biennial Report, July 1, 1950 to June 30, 1952, Pierre, S.D., 1952, p. 108.

7. Dick, Sod-House Frontier, p. 323.

8. Eliza St. John Brophy, Twice a Pioneer, New York: Exposition Press, 1972, pp. 70-72.

9. Neva Harding, I Recall Pioneer Days in South Dakota, Brookings, S.D.: The Woman's Club and the Saturday Literary Club, 1972, p. 11.

10. Brophy, Twice a Pioneer, p. 73, passim.

11. Jane Boorman, "A Frontier Learns of God and Man," pp. 162-185 in J. Leonard Jennewein and Jane Boorman, eds., Dakota Panorama, 3rd ed., Sioux Falls, S.D.: Brevet Press, 1973, p. 174.

12. Harding, I Recall Pioneer Days, p. 13, passim.

13. Laura Ingalls Wilder, New York: Harper & Row, 1943.

14. Harding, I Recall Pioneer Days, p. 13.

15. Brophy, Twice a Pioneer, p. 80, passim.

16. Boorman, "A Frontier Learns of God and Man," p. 174.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., p. 173.

19. Harding, I Recall Pioneer Days, p. 13.

20. Dick, Sod-House Frontier, p. 326.

21. Anders, "Educational Beginnings," p. 429.

22. J. Olson Anders, "The Making of a Typical Prairie County: Day County, South Dakota, 1881-1906," pp. 525-565 in South Dakota Historical Colections, vol. 36, 1972, p. 549.

23. School Laws of South Dakota With Session Laws Relating to Public Schools, 1891, pp. 3-8.

24. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ninth Biennial Report, p. 146.

25. R. W. Kraushaar, State School Support for South Dakota Public Schools, A Brief History of the Movement Since Statehood, Bulletin 2, Pierre, S.D.: South Dakota Department of Public Instruction and the South Dakota Education Association, 1933, pp. 9-11.

26. The findings and recommendations were published in U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, Bulletin, 1918, No. 31, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918. Pages vii-viii give the background for undertaking the study.

27. Ibid., p. 15.

28. Ibid., pp. 215-216.

29. Ibid., pp. 232-233.

30. Ibid., p. 237.

31. Ibid;, p. 219.

32. Cleata B. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota: Its First Hundred Years, 1861-1961," pp. 205-444 in South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. 36, 1972, pp. 281, 283; South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws Pertaining to State Standard Rural Schools and State Consolidated Schools of South Dakota, Pierre, S.D.: Department of Public Instruction, 1923, pp. 23-24.

33. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 290.

34. Ibid., p. 330.

35. Ibid., pp. 337-339.

36. Ibid., p. 366.

37. U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, pp. 15, 213.

38. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 330.

39. This history of the Teachers' Reading Circle is based on the history and description of activities and legal status in South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ninth Biennial Report, pp. 128-134.

40. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 284.

41. Ibid., p. 234.

42. South Dakota Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ninth Biennial Report, pp. 8, 16.

43. The Educational System of South Dakota, pp. 217-218.

44. Ibid.

45. "A Brief Statement of Some Educational Conditions in the United States and South Dakota," pp. 44-53 in Proceedings of the South Dakota Educational Association, vol. 37, 1919, p. 50.

46. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 265.

47. Ibid., p. 297.

48. Ibid., pp. 297, 329.

49. Ruth Morgan, ed., Memoirs of South Dakota Retired Teachers, Stickney, S.D.: Argus Printers, 1976, p. 19.

50. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 339.

51. Harding, I Recall Pioneer Days, passim; Brophy, Twice a Pioneer, passim; Wilder, These Happy Golden Years, passim.

52. The Educational System of South Dakota, pp. 210-211.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., pp. 209-210.

55. Morgan, Memoirs of Retired Teachers, p. 18.

56. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 338.

57. Morgan, Memoirs of Retired Teachers, p. 18.

58. Shaw, "A Brief Statement," p. 50; U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, pp. 212-213.

59. The Educational System of South Dakota, p. 211.

60. Morgan, Memoirs of Retired Teachers, p. 18, and oral history interview.

61. The tales of Eliza St. John Brophy's boarding experiences in the 1880s in Brookings County in Twice a Pioneer, passim, are especially colorful.

62. Harding, I Recall Pioneer Days, pp. 17-19.

63. The school law of 1891 continued the principle from the territorial period, and it was long retained in the law. See School Laws of South Dakota, p. 8.

64. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 216. The same rules were found listed for the same year and Dakota Territory in a museum schoolhouse located in Grove State Park on the James River in Spink County. The information in both cases is cited only to the South Dakota Historical Society, so its actual provenance has not been found. The rules seem to indicate town schools, but it is doubtful whether these rules, which seem to reflect a Victorian upper-middle-class and ministerial attitude typical of the East of the time, were or could be imposed on the Dakota frontier in town or country.

65. Brophy, Twice a Pioneer, pp. 75-58, 85, 93-04.

66. Harding, I Recall Pioneer Days, pp. 15-16.

READING, 'RITING, 'RITHMETIC, AND RURAL: WHAT AND HOW COUNTRY SCHOOL PUPILS IN SOUTH DAKOTA LEARNED, 1861-1950

A Research Report

by

Philip L. Brown

Librarian-Researcher

Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier

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This report will explore incompletely aspects of the rural school curriculum, teaching methodologies typical of the rural schools, the time spent in school, a comparison of the results of rural and town school elementary educations, and the Young Citizens League as a multi-faceted aspect of rural education in the state.[1] These topics are much too broad to receive the treatment which they deserve in the time and space available. The aspects of curriculum which relate closely to the subject of assimilation of the children of the immigrants will be covered in the paper on that topic.

When Dakota Territory was organized in 1861, the curriculum of the usual one-room school throughout the United Sates was much less developed than it would be by the mid-twentieth century. At that time it had advanced only moderately beyond the proverbial "three Rs"--reading, writing and arithmetic. In the earliest subscription schools of Dakota Territory the main subjects of instruction were indeed reading, writing, and basic arithmetic, or as it was colloquially called, ciphering. The very first session of the territorial legislature specified that spelling, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic were required offerings of every school; the school could instruct in such other subjects as were desired within the district.[2] Spelling and grammar were really only logical extensions of the first two "Rs" and were not innovative at all. The territorial legislature expanded the required curriculum in 1893 to include United States history and in 1885 added physiology, which was specifically to cover temperance and hygiene.[3]

The first complete state school law in 1891 indicated the basic curriculum only indirectly by specifying the subjects which were listed in the earlier territorial legislation as the subjects of the lowest level of the teacher

certification examinations. In this state which entered the Union in 1889 with a prohibition clause in its constitution, the 1890 legislature was careful to specify that the textbooks on physiology must devote "at least one-fourth of their space to the consideration of the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics" and that the subject was to be taught "as thoroughly as arithmetic and geography."[4] The first expansion of the list of required subjects since 1885 came in 1907 when the phrase "primarily language and English grammar" replaced English grammar in the list and history of South Dakota and civil government were added.[5] Two years later instruction in "music by note" was made a requirement for all schools, although no teacher could be denied a certificate on account of a lack of ability to instruct in music or to sing. Normal schools, however, were ordered to make music a required course.[6] The reading of music and music other than singing well-known songs, nevertheless, were often not taught from lack of teacher qualification. Music was still not in the certification standards as late as the early 1920s.[7]

Shortly after 1900 educational publications and meetings began to hum with suggestions for manual training. Reflecting John Dewey's principle of learning by doing, the idea was built upon by those anxious to improve the efficiency of farming and the living patterns of rural people with suggestions for agricultural study and home economics in addition to woodworking, the most common form of industrial arts. Recognition of the difficulties of a single teacher in a poorly-equipped, small, one-room school being able to handle these new educational demands was one reason improved school buildings and consolidation also were being urged stridently by educational leaders of

the period.[8]

These new subjects did enter the curriculum of at least some one-room schools from the 1910s on, but in most instances work in these areas was not a major part of the work of the school. The law of 1919 that granted state aid to rural schools that met certain standards for buildings, equipment, and teacher preparation also specified instruction in home economics. The Department of Public Instruction interpreted the law to permit the serving of hot lunches to be sufficient to fill this part of the law. Its regulations for the state aid, however, did require the "state standard" school to follow the state course of study, including elementary agriculture and home economics.[9] This incentive disappeared when this type of state aid was discontinued in the late 1920s.

Oral history interviewees seldom commented on agriculture, home economics, or manual training being part of the curriculum. One interviewee did pull out photographs from the 1930s of sewing and woodworking projects her students had done. That she was indeed an exception is suggested by the account of William G. Dankey. The rural school in which he taught during the Great Depression had bought a wood-working bench and some tools several years earlier during the manual training push. Most of the teachers were not prepared to use the bench, and it served as the table for the water cooler and kerosene stove in the entryway. Having had training in woodworking at Eastern State College (now Dakota State College), he introduced a very successful program for all age levels. His exhibit of the products at the county Young Citizens League day was regarded as extraordinary.[10]

The state course of study seems to have become more significant for the

content of the rural school's curriculum by the 1920's t an legislative mandating of the inclusion of certain subjects. The course of study did not spring up full-blown in the 1920s, and its early development undoubtedly was imitative of the more mature states to the east as well as a recognition that very-slightly-trained teachers needed a guiding framework.

The first attempt to guide the teacher in content and methods of instruction within the required subjects was territorial prescription of textbooks. From 1868 to 1877 the Superintendent of Public Instruction was empowered to designate the textbooks which the school districts were to prescribe for purchase by the parents. Typically included were the McGuffey readers and spellers and the Ray arithmetics.[11] Intended perhaps to aid in assuring a supply of textbooks that would be marketed in the still sparsely-populated territory and to help the teachers by forcing the parents to purchase up-to-date, standard, and uniform texts, it also, by implicati , directed the teacher to instruct according to the contents of the designated textbooks.

Superintendent of Public Instruction E.W. Miller in 1874 issued the first outline of a course of instruction. It was composed of nine sections, which were grouped into three grades: primary, intermediate, and advanced. The first two sections consisted solely of reading, language, and numbers. Spelling was added in section III, writing and geography in section V, and in a general way bookkeeping, history, "the science of common things," botany, zoology, singing, and moral lessons in section IX. It filled 14 pages of his annual report in providing a bare outline of material to be covered and some instructions in the methods of teaching the different courses.[12] How widely distributed this first course of instruction was in the years before

it was superceded is not known.

The territorial board of education in 1888 provided another course of instruction without going into greater detail. It wrote two versions, one for graded town schools and one for one-room schools. The latter was divided into four divisions or "grades" and is notable for including literature, for the first time, in the final "grade." It was not developed sufficiently to provide much guidance and thus was not followed with much precision.[13] Neva Whaley Harding, a new teacher in rural Kingsbury County in 1889, remembered in later years that this course of study, which organized the work by months, was introduced in Kingsbury County that year with an air of being an innovation.[14]

After the advent of statehood, the county superintendents in December of 1890 appointed a committee of three to prepare a course of study the next year.[15] The resulting course of study was to be followed by the teachers according to the revised school law of 1893.[16] A notable feature of this course of study and its 1895 revision by Superintendent of Public Instruction Frank Crane was a system of examinations to be administered the last Friday of each month. Thsese standard tests were to be prepared under the supervision of the superintendent of public instruction, and the sealed packet containing them was not to be opened by the teacher until the time of the examination. The graded examination papers were to be retained for the inspection of the county superintendent when visiting the school.[17] This course of study also called for a seventh-grade examination prepared by the county superintendent. An average score on it of 85 percent would permit the pupil after another year's attendance to take an examination for the

diploma, which was to be held by the county superintendent at the county seat.[18]

The actual course of study assumed a school year of seven months and divided each year's work in each subject into monthly segments to which the standard examinations were to be keyed. With only minor suggestions as to the methods of instruction, the basic eight-year course filled 54 pages of eight point type. Appended to it, clearly as an optional addition to the curriculum, was a three-page outline of an eight-year course in "form study and drawing."[19] This course of study was not created of whole cloth by the committee apointed in 1890. They acknowledged consulting "various manuals now in use in thestate, and in the states of Illinois and Iowa."[20]

A casual inspection of this course of study shows an extreme emphasis upon recitations, drilling, and memorization. This education in the basics was to be quite thorough. The next revision, carried out in 1901 by a committee appointed by the South Dakota Educational Association, showed some advances in pedagogical theory even if the list of courses and years called "Outline of the Course" changed not at all. For example, phonics were used now, and in the seventh year, fourth month of the instruction in grammar, the pupils were given activities that apply some learning by doing. They were instructed to write a short newspaper account of the Thanksgiving party, a thank-you letter, a paragraph about Christmas, and a page on "why I like winter."[21] The system of testing continued unchanged.[22]

Another revision of the course of study began in 1905 when Superintendent of Public Instruction G. W. Nash appointed a committee, which presented its revision to the conference of county superintendents the next year for adoption. It abandoned subdividing the work by months, preferring to use sections

that represented a month's work, with nine months in a year now, rather than the former seven months. The pupil was expected to progress through the sections of the various subjects which the same number simultaneously. Each pupil's progress was to be noted in terms of sections completed, rather than grades completed.[23] A major purpose of this organization was to prevent schools with short school years from promoting pupils who had not completed the previous year's course of study. It was though that such practices led to failure on the examinations for the eighth-grade diploma.[34] The structure of this course of study may have been intended to persuade local school boards to lengthen the school term toward nine months.

This course of study made little further progress in suggestions for newer teaching methods. Memorization, drill, and recitation clearly were the major means of instruction. A new subject was introduced: agriculture. As with drawing in this and previous courses of instruction, a fully-graded outline was not provided; instead, only a few exercises that utilized observation.[25] A year's course in civil government and South Dakota history was instituted for the eighth grade as a continuation of the geography sequence.[26] The school law of 1907, as noted earlier, sanctioned this change by making civil government and South Dakota history required subjects.

The next revision of the course of instruction to make major changes was issued in 1917. Under the direction of Superintendent of Public Instruction C. H. Lugg, the course of instruction was redesigned to reduce the number of different recitations a teacher had to hear during a week so that more time could be given to each. A process of "alternation," borrowed from other states, was applied in which two grades were to be combined for certain subjects and

particular parts of the course of instruction then needed to be taught only in alternate years. The principle was applied most fully in the seventh and eighth grades with the alternation to be uniform throughout the state for purposes of the county seventh- and eighth-grade examinations.[27]

A brief inspection of this course of instruction reveals that the sections system of 1906 was abandoned (earlier, in fact) for a variety of practices. In reading, a list of goals for the year with a few specific activities was presented; in history an outline of the material to be covered, divided into "recommended minimum course" and "supplementary course," was made; and in physiology and hygiene a monthly program was described.[28] Several times teachers were urged to correlate the work of one subject with that of another. For example, the teacher was urged to correlate art with "agriculture, home art, arithmetic, language, history and other subject matter." The introduction to the language course in urging correlation predicted the adoption of the unit system in which similar subjects would be merged together for the next revision.[29] Instructions for teaching domestic science and gardening and music were added to all the subjects in the previously-described course of instruction.[30]

The course of instruction tended to grow longer in each revision because new subjects were being added, at least as options, and because more detail and suggestions for teaching were inserted. In the 1920s the Department of Public Instruction took over primary supervision of the revisions from committees of the county superintendents. The new course of instruction that was issued in 1922 was the product primarily of employees of that department.[31] Abandoning the alternation of subjects of the previous course of instruction,

it attempted "vitalization" of the curriculum by interweaving, correlating, and combining the subjects of instruction with the ordinary experiences of the child's daily life. Beyond being moderately longer, this course of instruction was marked by a greater detail on civics and citizenship and on agriculture and by specific recommendations for items to be memorized.[32] This course of study was reprinted with only minimal revision throughout the 1920s.

Under E. C. Giffen, who became Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1929, a massive revision effort began. Consultants were brought in and over 800 teachers were utilized in the committees that produced a fundamentally revised curriculum, which was based to a high extent upon progressive education ideas. It organized study into units, stressed correlation of subject matter, and used problem and project methods. Memorization clearly was finally to be replaced by learning by doing.[33] With such prodigious efforts, the resulting course of instruction, which was issued in parts and reached print in its entirety in 1933, was nearly six times longer than its 1922 immediate predecessor, 1492 pages to 256 pages.[34]

The new course of study grouped reading, literature, language and grammar, spelling and handwriting as language arts. History, geography, civics, and character education and citizenship were grouped as social studies. As an alternative to these traditional subject divisions, a "fused social studies program" was laid out in great detail. It utilized the unit method rigorously and developed five great themes: interdependence, man's increasing control over nature, adaptation, population, and democracy.[35] A third group of subjects was science and helath. These replaced the old physiology course with physical education and science. Before, the only science beyond human health

offered in the curriculum had been some biology in the optional agriculture course. Now all the major sciences were covered in an elementary manner.[36]

Although elements of progressive educational methods had been creeping into the course of instruction for decades, this rigorous imposition of the methodology generally was too much for the teachers of the rural schools to adopt successfully. The social studies units were totally unadaptable to testbook teaching, and the needed supplementary materials could not be bought with depression-era budgets. Therefore, a course of study handbook, which provided an outline and breakdown into daily teaching lessons of the course of study units, was issued in 1938. Cleata Thorpe regarded it to have been "a step backward from the progressively oriented, flexible, teacher's-guide type of study to the rigid, traditional type South Dakota teachers had been trained to use."[37] It certainly is ironic that the most carefully developed manual for teachers in the history of the state had to be made usable by a manual to it.

Perhaps the 1933 course of study demanded too much of the teacher in the one-room school; nevertheless, interviewees and persons contacted during the field work showed examples of project work that had resulted from the unit method of instruction. Whether the projects always contributed to the fundamental goals of the course of study plan or became a new form of "busy work' is not always clear. An outstanding effort of this type, crossing the language arts and social studies parts of the curriculum, occurred in Latham School in Faulk County in the 1920s. In what was at the time a two-room school, the teacher of the intermediate grades for three years had her pupils produce a monthly mimeographed community newspaper, the Latham Lagoon.

Several of the developments of the course of study in the years after

World War I reflected the recommendations of a survey of South Dakota public schools which was carried out in 1917-1918 by the U.S. Bureau of Education. It commended the alternation system of combining grades for certain subjects, which had been adopted in the 1917 course of study. It recommended the type of course of study that finally was produced in 1933: study to be grouped in broad topic areas; topics to be fundamentally important and large in detail with lists of aids, bibliographies, suggestions for collection of local materials; and subject matter to be approached through problems or projects that would furnish proper motivation.

These recommendations followed field observations which showed that the teachers themselves lacked time to formulate elaborate lessons plans and that even the best-prepared teachers usually followed textbooks as the line of least resistance.[38] The same survey was rather critical of the instructional methods of the one-room schools in South Dakota generally. In spite of the use of alternation, recitations lasted only ten minutes on an average. Requiring pupils to write a lesson was the easiest and most usual way of providing work for the pupils with the result that what was assigned was considered by the survey authors to have little educational value. Even though the greatest amount of time was spent on reading, most often what was accomplished was "word calling," rather than reading to learn, even in the upper grades.[39]

These unflattering findings were in line with the concerns of many South Dakota educational leaders. There was one very worrisome statistic that suggested that whatever one thought about what constituted good schooling, it often was not happening in the country schools of South Dakota. Calling

it "almost a tragedy," Superintendent of Public Instruction Fred L. Shaw in 1922 noted that 40 percent of the pupils who took the examinations for eighth-grade diplomas failed.[40]

While he thought neglect of proper instruction at the intermediate level of the fifth and sixth grades was one cause of the failure rate, Shaw was hopeful that another problem--insufficient time in school by the pupils--was now solved because eight months now constituted the minimum term, and there was now a strong compulsory attendance law.[41] The compulsory attendance law of 1921 was the culmination of a long string of laws that lengthened the school term, broadened the ages of required attendance, and strengthened the enforcement mechanisms.

Regardless of the quality of the teachers, teaching methods, and equipment, in the pioneer era a large percentage of the children of South Dakota could not have acquired much more than basic literacy and simple arithmetic skills because the total time they spent in school was very low by twentieth-century standards. Dakota Territory made school attendance compulsory for the first time in 1883 when the law required that all children between the ages of 10 and 14 should attend at least 12 weeks annually, six of which were to be consecutive. It had no provision for enforcement, and the township school board could excuse those children who lived more than two miles from a schoolhouse.[42] Although younger children were admissable to schools, often attended, and were counted in the school-age population of ages 5 to 21 years,[43] the necessity for many to walk considerable distances may have been the motive behind making attendance below age ten voluntary. Pre-mechanized agriculture was very labor intensive, especially during the planting and harvest seasons.

Freedom to keep the children home to work on the farm was provided for in the six weeks consecutive attendance provision. This need for child labor in the desperate fight for economic survival in the pioneer period has been cited as the principal cause of a 65 percent average daily attendance of the enrolled pupils in 1894 in Day County.[44] In 1883, the year of the first compulsory attendance law, the average length of the school term in Dakota Territory was a mere 93 days.[45]

The state school law of 1891 lowered the age of required attendance to 8 years but did not increase the required minimum period of attendance from 12 weeks. The parent was subject to fine for failure to comply.[46] After the twentieth century opened, the consecutive-weeks requirement was raised to eight in 1901 and to twelve in 1907, at which time the total minimum attendance was set at sixteen weeks. By this time the county superintendent was in charge of enforcing the truancy law. In 1915 the legislature raised the age of required attendance to age 16 and further required attendance for the whole term until the sixth grade was completed. Thereafter, in recognition of the need for labor on the farm, attendance needed to be only for sixteen consecutive weeks per year until the eighth grade was completed or age 16 was reached.[47]

The U.S. Bureau of Education survey found that in 1915-16 the average length of the rural school term was almost eight months, although about 30 percent of the rural schools ran for only seven months or less. Their daily attendance rate was on the order of 70 to 75 percent of enrollment, which was low in national comparisons. Under these conditions of somewhat short terms and high absenteeism, by age ten one-half of the rural pupils

were at least a grade behind the normal age progression. By age 13, the normal age for entering the eighth grade, under 30 percent were enrolled in the eighth grade, although perhaps ten percent had passed beyond it before reaching that age. The data that the survey used show no evidence for some pupils entering school later than age six. Nearly 15 percent of the rural school enroolment were age 14 or older at the beginning of the term, although only two to three percent were over the age of required attendance, sixteen. The expert authors were certain that poor teaching in overly small classes was the basis for a lack of interest in school among the rural pupils and hence the high absenteeism accompanied by lagging in progression through the grades.[48]

In 1921 two acts of the legislature put a considerably higher legal minimum time in school into effect, leading to Superintendent of public Instruction Shaw's optimism about solving the 40 percent failure rate on the examinations for eighth-grade diplomas. The minimum length of the school term was increased to eight months.[49] The Superintendent of Public Instruction was given the ultimate power to enforce the penalties for truancy, and the elected county superintendents were now under penalty of misdemeanor conviction for failing to perfor their truancy officer duties. And children from age 8 to their 17th birthday who were not enrolled in an approved private school or who had not graduated from the eighth grade were required to attend the entire term. A concession was made yet for farm children to stay at home to work for a period not to exceed forty school days from April 1 to November 1.[50]

That the county superintendets may have needed the criminal penalty threat

to force them to be more vigorous in truancy afforts was evident from their own confessions to the U.S. Bureau of Education survey in 1918. Nearly one-half of the county superintendents admitted that the truancy law was not enforced well in their counties. Being elected for two-year terms, they found it a delicate matter to go against community sentiment.[51] In the first year under the 1921 law, 99 cases were taken to court. The next year the number of cases dropped to 47, and thereafter the legal system seldom was needed.[52]

Through the 1920s and after, then, the rural-school pupil generally had to attend the entire length of a term of at least eight months until he or she completed the eighth grade or reached age 17. Many rural schools held nine-month terms, and those seeking to qualify for state aid as "state standard" schools during the 1920s had to provide nine months of instruction.[53] The preparation of the teachers was now considerably improved generally, and they were by the 1930s aided by a very detailed course of instruction. Yet the charge was often debated that one-room schools provided inferior education.

William V. Hass in a master's thesis attemped to test the truth of that contention in 1948. The only major study he discovered on the topic had been done in New York in 1922, the year when Superintendent of Public Instruction Shaw was bemoaning the 40 percent failure rate on the examination for the eighth-grade diploma. The New York study found the eighth-grade rural pupils to be a year or more behind their city-school counterparts.[54] Hass's thorough study of a sample of slightly over 200 freshman and sophomore high school students, who came almost equally from town elementary schools and rural one-room schools, found the students from each group evenly matched on age and mental abilities. Both groups scored very close to national norms on the

various achievement batteries. More often than not the rural students trailed the town students, but by a statistically insignificant amount. The teachers were asked to rate the students on a series of personality characteristics. In this sphere the rural students were rated slightly better than the town students except on leadership.[55]

Hass's study supports the notion that whatever inferiority rural schools may have had prior to the early 1920s had been largely overcome a quarter century later insofar as test results were indicative. The significance of his research is vitiated, however, by the fact that the high schools he used were themselves in small communities. All but one were fed by town elementary schools that had at least tow grades to a classroom.[56] The town students had attended schools as close to the one-room schools in size as could be found outside the countryside.

Broadly speaking, the one-room school concentrated on cognitive goals. The instruction in physiology and hygiene, particularly the emphasis upon the effects of alcoholic beverages, did have affective goals as well. The chief affective goals, however, were in the overlapping areas of moral instruction, character education and citizenship education. While part of the concern for the last was due to an attempt after World War I to use the schools as instruments for the assimilation of the immigrant ethnic groups, there was concern in this sphere from the beginning of Dakota Territory.

The first territorial governor, Dr. William Jayne, in his address to the opening of the first legislative assembly noted the need to establish laws for schools who purpose would be "the proper moral and intellectual training of the youth of our land."[57] The legislature, however, seemingly passed

no law directly requiring moral instruction throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Some teachers at lease attempted to instill moral standards by one method or another. Neva Harding in 1890 found herself teaching in a district where animosity existed in the community, which was divided over an event of the previous year. The teacher had each morning read a chapter from a Protestant version of the Bible. A Catholic family objected, and finally one morning an older son came to the school and gave the male teacher a thrashing.[58]

Nationally a concern for moral training through the public schools was a major issue for educators in the Progessive Era.[59] That concern was expressed in South Dakota by insertion of a requirement for ethical instruction in the revised school law of 1907:

> Moral instruction intended to impress upon the minds of pupils the importance of truthfulness, temperance, purity, public spirit, patriotism and respect for honest labor, obedience to parents and due deference for old age, shall be given by every teacher in the public service of the state.[60]

The 1914 edition of the course of study shows that ethics was not to be treated as a truly separate subject. The instruction was to be taken up in opening exercises and correlated with reading and laguage. The content of the instruction included deportment, character values, and patriotism as well as larger concepts of ethical behavior, and it was to be taught through fables, moral stories, inspiring biographical examples, Biblical stories, and even Biblical passages.[61]

The 1917 revision of the course of study omitted any reference in any form to moral instruction or character education, although the 1907 provisons for ethical instruction remained a part of the law. The 1922 re-

vision of the course of study embedded it under civics as a "Citizenship Course for Schools," which again did not involve separate recitations and which now stressed department, character education, and patriotism with very little religious context beyond the Ten Commandments and religious toleration.[62]

This pattern was the trend of the future, but the legislature responded to sentiment in the state against specifically-Christian morality disappearing from the subject matter of the schools. The 1924 session of the legislature amended the compulsory attendance law to permit pupils to be excused one hour per week for organized religious instruction.[63] In addition, by concurrent resolution, the legislature that same year urged moral instruction in the schools and the reading of the Bible without sectarian comment.[64] Superintendent of Public Instruction Shaw in 1924 noted that the provision for excusing for religious instruction was little used.[65]

Bible-reading may also have not been commonplace, even without sectarian comment, but it did spark a suit in 1925 for the same reason that Neva Harding's predecessor had been beaten by a Catholic in 1890: Catholics objected to the King James translation.[66] The Supreme Court of South Dakota, in deciding the case in 1929, could very well have forbade the reading of the Bible in the schools, but it confined itself to the remedy sought by the plaintiff. It ordered readmission of the Catholic students who had absented themselves from the readings of the King James translation and ordered them to be allowed to continue to absent themselves from the readings.[67]

In the 1920s in South Dakota the wave of the future turned out to be character education without reference to religious values directly. It was a mixture of department, patriotism, and citizen training, much of which was

organized in the form of the Young Citizens League. It first appeared in the 1922 revision of the course of study in the civics section. It was introduced in the part on children's organizations alongside the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls and "Boys' and Girls' Clubs" (4-H Clubs), similar attempts to provide character education in a secular context. The teacher was expected already to be familiar with the Young Citizens League concept, and its organization in the school was suggested.[68]

Michael M. Guhin is remembered as the founder of the Young Citizens League, but the core of the concept was adopted by him from a Minnesota Department of Public Instruction bulletin by Anna Williams, entitled "The Little Citizens League."[69] The concept as adopted by Guhin combined elements of training in civics by pupil self-governance, as advocated by educational reformers, and concerns for character development and civic improvement which were typical of the Progressive Era. These concepts had eastern urban origins,[70] but their greatest flowering was in South Dakota's and North Dakota's one-room country schools.

Guhin introduced the Young Citizens League into one rural school in 1912 while county superintendent of Brown County. In its original form it permitted children to hold meetings to discuss what they could do as projects to improve some aspect of the school facility. Growth was slow, but his enthousiasm and successful early Young Citizens Leagues led to its wide adoption during his tenure as Brown County Superintendent of schools.[71] Guhin was asked by Superintendent of Public Instruction Shaw in 1920 to be Director of Americanization in the Department of Public Instruction. One year later in reorganization he headed the Division of Rural and Civic Education and

had free hand to promote the Young Citizens League throughout the state's rural schools.[72] Guhin was placed in charge of the 1922 revision of the course of study and was specifically the principal author of the civics section. In it, organization of a "Little Citizens League" or "Young Citizens League" was urged as significant to the civics program. The details of organizing were not given, but reference was made to Johnson and Ransom's Community Civics, for more complete information.[73]

Organization of Young Citizens Leagues began to develop more rapidly after this sanction in the course of study. By 1925 it was organized beyond the local level when the county superintendents in their annual summer meeting voted to make it a state organization with the superintendent of public instruction as its ex officio state chairman. The county superintendents were to supervise on the county level.[74] Credit for the idea is uncertain: E. C. Giffen, appointed rural school supervisor in the Department of Public Instruction in 1925 and soon the first executive secretary of the YCL, claimed credit later, but others said Guhin recommended it.[75] In addition to the backing of the county superintendents, by 1925 Young Citizens Leagues were also encouraged by the Department of Public Instruction through an allowance of 40 points for an active YCL in tallying up the eligibility of a rural school for state aid as a "state Standard School."[76]

The constitution and bylaws for local YCLs that were issued in 1925 show an emphasis upon learning parliamentary procedure and committee work by actually doing them. A YCL was to be a full-blown voluntary association that ran business meetings and collected membership dues. The teacher was to be only an adviser. There were to be five standing committees: executive,

health and sanitation, physical training, patriotism, cleanliness and order, and courtesy. A pledge was to be taken by the members:

> I hereby pledge my active devotion to my country by a study its ideals, and by a constant interest in the general welfare of my state and nation. I shall strive to do something each day to improve the standards of my school and community, and thereby endeavor to promote better citizenship.

In addition, the YCL adopted as its motto: "Help Uncle Sam, one another, our school and our community."[77]

There was a great similarity between this constitution and bylaws and those listed by Johnson and Ransom in their 1922 textbook.[78] The last two committees were new, the terms of the officers were now limited to one month for rotational purposes, and the committee memberships generally were to be changed weekly to keep up the interest.[79]

Growth and development of the program of the YCL were very rapid throughout the reminder of the 1920s. In the 1925-26 school year there were 1561 chapters with a membership of 30,000; in 1926-27 the 3415 chapters included 60,092 members; in 1927-28 the executive secretary, E. C. Giffen, expected 4000 chapters and 75,000 members. In 1926 two counties held conventions; in 1927 51 counties did so; by 1928 only seven of the 64 counties did not have YCL conventions. In 1927 the first annual, two-day state YCL convention was held in the capitol in Pierre with the governor holding a reception for the pupil-delegates.[80] By 1930, with some chapters organized in the classrooms of village and town schools, the number of chapters was about 5000, and few of the 4500 rural schools were without a YCL.[81]

Enthousiasm for YCL rose to such a pitch that Governor J. W. Bulow asked

the special June, 1927, session of the legislature to appropriate $10,000 for the biennium for the work of the YCL. This appropriation was passed in a session called particularly to pare down appropriations, including school appropriations, and may have been the first instance of an appropriation by any state specifically for character education. E. C. Giffen was made full-time secretary with his salary paid out of that appropriation.[82] YCL thus became an official part of the Department of Public Instruction, and appropriations for its administration continued into the late 1960s, although at reduced levels.[83]

This period also say a "Young Citizen League March Song" adopted and a magazine, The Young Citizen, started. The song, adopted in 1927, was to become part of the heritage of the rural-school pupils of South Dakota for the next forty years.

YOUNG CITIZENS LEAGUE MARCH SONG

O up from every valley
  And down from every crest,
We come, thy loyal children,
  By all thy favors blest,
To pledge our firm allegiance,
  America, to thee--
Thy guardians of tomorrow,
  By mountain, plain, and sea.

CHORUS

We march and we sing; our voices ring;
  Young Citizens are we;
Leagued in a host whose watchwords are
  Youth, Courage, Loyalty.
Hailing our nation's banner,
  Afloat in the sunlit sky,
Which through hopes and fears, through future years,
  We will hold evermore on high.

In all the winds of Heaven

There breathes a patriot's creed--
Clean hearts and minds and bodies
Serve best our country's need--
That creed we hold, America,
Enshrined in heart and soul;
A deeper sense of duty
And better lives our goal.[84]

The Young Citizen, for local clubs of the YCL, began publication in September, 1929, in the Department of Public Instruction and shortly had a circulation of 4000. It published reports from members, state current-event items, and solicited contributions from prominent citizens and state officials.[85] It continued regular publication into the mid-1960s, although in 1943 editorial control went to the national headquarters in Valley City, North Dakota, after a national organization was created for the YCL.[86]

From the beginning of state organization, a statewide project was promulgated each year. Its selection was a major part of the business meeting of the state convention in the house chambers of the state capitol. The first four projects, starting with 1926-27, were recataloging, reconditioning, and building up school libraries, beautifying school grounds; music appreciation and the purchase of musical instruments; and art appreciation and the adding of good pictures to classrooms. The old major projects remained as minor local projects in future years. Various local projects such as erecting flagpoles also were undertaken. Various fund-raising projects were conducted locally to pay the costs of the projects. In 1926-27 the local YCLs raised $83,408.37 for their projects.[87]

The 1932 edition of the course of study devoted twenty-six pages to the Young Citizens League. Guhin was part of the committee for the character education segment, and his particular convictions about the purposes of YCL

were reflected in the explanatory material, some of which essentially paraphrased his own Better Rural School Bulletin issue for September, 1929, which he entitled "Young Citizens League Edition." The constitution and bylaws were reprinted in this course of study. By then they included provisions for the county and state conventions and the state governance. An alternate pattern of state-level governance was given, perhaps reflecting the situation in North Dakota, which probably had not included YCL in the state's department of education. Finally, the duties of the committees were now spelled out in detail.[88]

A very adulatory article on the YCL appeared during 1940 in the Saturday Evening Post, in which the author described his experience in visiting a Black Hills one-room school. His impressions were dominated by the activities of YCL committee members carrying on most of the janitorial tasks, supervising the playground, and preparing the hot noon meal.[89] Because these activities were daily and were rotated among the pupils weekly, they sometimes tend to dominate in the memories of some oral history interviewees. They recall it as a way of easing the teacher's task in getting pupil help in the management of the school.

YCL, however, almost always was much more than that. It became the organizational framework for many activities that were engaged in by rural schools one way or another elsewhere. Partly due to the coincidence that the U.S. Department of Agriculture wanted to use the rural schools in a campaign to publicize the role of the common barberry in the spread of black stem rust, a disease of small grains, the YCL in 1927 embarked upon a speech and essay contest through its county and state conventions. Other organizations in

later years proposed their own favorite subjects, and it became a standard part of the YCL activities.[90] The Junior Red Cross was suggested as a YCL project by Johnson and Ransom in 1922,[91] and that and various wartime scrap and collection drives were regularly YCL projects in the 1940s. In 1942 three rural schools in Perkins, Haakon, and Sully Counties won in a scrapmetal drive contest and sent pupil representatives to Portland, Oregon, to launch a Liberty ship, which they christened the M. M. Guhin. The schools east of the Missouri River collected 14,000 bushels of milkweed pods (the floss was used in making life jackets and warm suits for aviators).[92]

As early as the 1920s a rural-school county chorus was organized in Brown County to perform at the county YCL convention.[93] The practice also developed in other counties and became a standard part of YCL county conventions. In 1935, the year of the only YCL state convention held jointly with North Dakota, the first mention occurred of a state YCL chorus.[94] The state YCL chorus also became a standard convention feature.

Due to his home's proximity to North Dakota, Guhin had contacts in that state, and YCL spread into it rather early. He reported that the "North Dakota State Y. C. L. secretary" told him at the Dickey County, North Dakota, YCL convention in 1929 that North Dakota already had over 500 YCLs.[95] A year later North Dakota was reported to have YCLs in 25 counties.[96] Due to the efforts of individual teachers and educational administrators who had knowledge of the YCL program in South Dakota, YCLs were organized in individual schools in several states. In addition to North Dakota, neighboring Minnesota probably had a considerable number, although some of the YCL development there may have been independent of Guhin's work because of the original

"Little Citizens Leagues" bulletin in that state. Representatives of those two states and South Dakota formed a national umbrella organization, Young Citizens League of America, in 1937 with Guhin as president. By the early 1940s 7500 chapters in several states were counted.[97]

Guhin's death in October, 1941, apparently brought temporary collapse of the national YCL organization. In 1943, W. M. Wemett of Valley City, North Dakota, state chairman of YCL in North Dakota since statewide organization there, brought together YCL officials from the two Dakotas and achieved revival of the "national" YCL, which was henceforth headquartered at Valley City State College in North Dakota. He was named president and held that title for many years.[98] This national organization received national dues from YCLs in six states by the spring of 1944, with Minnesota and Colorado having several in addition to the more numerous memberships in North Dakota and especially South Dakota. It estimated in October of 1944 that YCLs existed in 14,000 schools and involved 200,000 children. Representatives of the state YCL organizations of South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Wyoming, Kansas, and Colorado met in 1945 in Deadwood, S.D. In 1946, the states of Colorado, North Dakota, and South Dakota held state conventions of the YCL; it was not the first in any of those states.[99]

In South Dakota in 1952 there were still 3051 YCLs, which exceeded the number of common schools in operation by over one hundred, as many village schools continued to have YCLs.[100] The disappearing one-room schools, however, led to the disappearance of the Young Citizens League as well. The last report in the biennial reports of the superintendent of public instruction appeared in 1968. A state convention had been held that year, but

the last one may have been it or no later than in 1970. Most of the remaining one-room schools closed in those years as every school had to be consolidated into districts supporting instruction from kindergarten through twelth grade by 1970. The YCL concept was too strongly tied to the rural school for it to survive. The last report lamented the fact that many persons considered YCL to be only a rural-school program. The national organization was already defunct.[101]

In short, the curriculum of the country schools of South Dakota over the years expanded from the "three Rs" of lore and geography to include music, art, and history and to some extent agriculture and home economics. Attempts were made to get away from drill, memorization, and recitation as the principal methods of instruction to units and projects that emphasized learning by doing and integration of the subjects of instruction with each other and the live experiences of the pupils. The twin concerns of character education and citizenship education resulted in the flowering of the Young Citizens League with county and state conventions and The Young Citizen magazine. YCL, with multifacted involvement in the curriculum of the rural schools, clearly was South Dakota's principal contribution to rural pedagogy--even if its origins can be traced elsewhere. YCL, however, failed to survive the passing of the one-room school, to which it was so intimately connected.

NOTES

1. The Young Citizens League, which permeated rural education in South Dakota from the mid-1920s until the massive consolidation of the late 1960s closed most of the rural schools, deserves thorough study in this state of its origin and greatest development. A special paper about it will be prepared for presentation at the Dakota History Conference in April of this year.

2. Walter William Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education in South Dakota," pp. 375-502 in South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. 12, 1924, p. 459.

3. Cleata B. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota: Its First Hundred Years," pp. 205-444 in South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. 36, 1972, p. 234.

4. School Law of South Dakota with Session Laws Relating to Public Schools, Tyndall, S.D.: Tribune Printing, 1891, pp. 7, 51.

5. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1907, p. 249.

6. Ibid., 1909, p. 17.

7. Ludeman,"Studies in the History of Public Education," pp. 459-460.

8. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," pp. 265-266.

9. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws Pertaining to State Standard Rural Schools and State Consolidated Schools of South Dakota, Pierre, S.D.: the Department, 1923, p. 13.

10. Ruth Morgan, ed., Memoirs of South Dakota Retired Teachers, Stickney, S.D.: Argus Printers, 1976, p. 29.

11. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," pp. 215-216; Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education," pp. 404.

12. Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education," pp. 460-461.

13. Ibid., pp. 461-462.

14. Neva Harding, I Recall Pioneer Days in South Dakota, Brookings, S.D.: The Woman's Club and The Saturday Literary Club, 1972, p. 14.

15. Frank Crane, Manual and Guide and Course of Study for the Common Schools of South Dakota, Mitchell, S.D.: South Dakota Educator, 1896, p. [4].

16. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1893, p. 125.

17. Crane, Manual and Guide and Course of Study, pp. 8-9.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., pp. 12-68.

20. Ibid., p. [4].

21. Committee Appointed by the South Dakota Educational Association, Manual and Guide and Course of Study for the Common Schools of South Dakota, Mitchell, S.D.: The Educator School Supply Co., 1901, pp. [7], 9, 72.

22. Ibid., pp. [11-13].

23. Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education," pp. 462-463.

24. Committee Appointed by the County Superintendents of South Dakota, Manual and Guide and Course of Study for the Elementary Schools of South Dakota, Madison, S.D.: Journal School Supply Co., 1906, p. 5.

25. Ibid., pp. 159-177.

26. Ibid., pp. 153-159.

27. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Course of Study for the Elementary Schools of South Dakota, Mitchell, S.D.: Educator Supply Co., 1917, pp. 3-7.

28. Ibid., passim.

29. Ibid., pp. 57-58, 218.

30. Ibid., passim.

31. Fred L. Shaw, Course of Study for the Elementary Schools of South Dakota, Pierre, S.D.: Fred Olander Co., 1922, pp. 2-3.

32. Ibid., p. 4, passim.

33. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," pp. 285-286.

34. I. D. Weeks, A Course of Study for Rural and Graded Elementary Schools of South Dakota, Pierre, S.D.: Department of Public Instruction.

35. Ibid., pp. 811-813.

36. Ibid., p. 1195, passim.

37. "Education in South Dakota," pp. 319-320.

38. The Educational System of South Dakota, Bulletin, 1918, No. 31, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. 79, 87.

39. Ibid., pp. 114-129, passim.

40. Shaw, Course of Study, p. 8.

41. Ibid.

42. Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education," p. 477.

43. This range of ages for school children was established by the first territorial legislature in 1862. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 214.

44. J. Olson Anders, "The Making of a Typical Prairie County: Day County, South Dakota, 188[illegible]-1906," pp. 525-565 in South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. 36, 1972, pp. 549-550.

45. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 234.

46. School Law of South Dakota, p. 33.

47. Ludeman, "Studies in the History of Public Education," pp. 478-479.

48. U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, pp. 42-47.

49. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1921, p. 316.

50. Ibid., pp. 298-302.

51. U.S. Bureau of Education, The Educational System of South Dakota, p. 41.

52. Doane Robinson, South Dakota, Sui Generis, 3 vols., Chicago: American Historical Society, 1930, vol. 1, p. 419.

53. South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Standards and Laws, p. 9.

54. "A Study Comparing the Educational Proficiency of the One-Room Rural School Graduates and the Town Elementary School Graduates Found in the Freshman and Sophomore Classes of Six East Central High Schools in South Dakota," M.S. thesis, South Dakota State College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts, pp. 5-6.

55. Ibid., pp. 28-67, passim.

56. J. F. Hines, Educational Directory of South Dakota Schools, 1947-1948, Pierre, S.D.: State Department of Public Instruction, 1947, passim.

57. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," pp. 213-214.

58. I Recall Pioneer Days, pp. 19-20.

59. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 266.

60. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1907, pp. 250-251.

61. Committee Appointed by County Superintendents of South Dakota, Course of Study for the Elementary Schools of South Dakota, Mitchell, S.D.: Educators Supply Co., 1914, p. 29, passim.

62. Shaw, Course of Study, pp. 148-158.

63. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1923, p. 143.

64. Robinson, South Dakota, Sui Generis, vol. 1, pp. 420-421.

65. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 288.

66. Robinson, South Dakota, Sui Generis, vol. 1, p. 421.

67. State ex rel Finger v. Weedman, et al., South Dakota Reports, vol. 55, 1931, pp. 343-396.

68. Shaw, Course of Study, p. 154.

69. Comments of Hazel Peterson, State Secretary of the Young Citizens League, in "In Memoriam" issue, The Rural Educator, vol. 20, no. 4, January-February, 1942, p. 15; the Minnesota pamphlet's author's name is given by Farrsworth Crowder, "Their Fingers in the Pie," Saturday Evening Post, October 26, 1940, p. 39.

70. An example of the former is Richard Welling, "Pupil Self-Government as a Training for Citizenship," Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States, vol. 49, 1911, pp. 1005-1009. Welling, a New York City resident, mentioned several plans of student governance. Reaching the children with the concerns for civic improvement of the General Federation of Women's Clubs was the object of the Children's Leagues of Good Citizenship, which were organized in the schools of Philadelphia as early as 1897. These clubs were organized on a school and even classroom basis, with monthly meetings conducted by elected student officers. Mrs. George Zimmerman, "Children's Leagues of Good Citizenship," American City, vol. 7, 1912, pp. 443-446. The relationship between these eastern efforts and Anna Williams' Minnesota bulletin is only conjectural, as the latter has not been seen.

71. Crowder, "Their Fingers in the Pie," pp. 39,43; "In Memoriam" issue of The Rural Educator, p. 8.

72. Comments of Fred L. Shaw in "In Memoriam" issue of The Rural Educator, p. 8.

73. Shaw, Course of Study, pp. 152, 154; Willis E. Johnson and Frank L. Ransom, Community Civics, Mitchell, S.D.: Educator Supply Co., 1922. The authors obviously produced this textbook to fit the civics course and must have had access to it before publication. The Young Citizens League is described on pp. 63-73.

74. E. C. Giffen, "South Dakota Young Citizens League," South Dakota Education Association Journal, vol. 1, 1925, p. 13.

75. E. C. Giffen, "A State Program in Citizenship for Rural Schools," Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States, vol. 66, 1928, p. 521; S. B. Nissen, "The Young Citizens League," National Education Association Journal, vol. 19, May, 1930, p. 139. Possibly both claims are technically correct with Guhin endorsing Giffen's plan.

76. Giffen, "South Dakota Young Citizens League," p. 13.

77. "Pledge, Constitution and By-Laws of South Dakota Young Citizens League (1925)," South Dakota Education Association Journal, vol. 1, 1925, pp. 26-27.

78. Community Civics, pp. 63-65.

79. Giffen, "South Dakota Young Citizens League," p. 13.

80. Giffen, "A State Program in Citizenship," p. 521.

81. Nissen, "The Young Citizens League," p. 139.

82. S. B. Nissen, "The Young Citizens League of South Dakota," National Education Association Journal, vol. 16, Dec., 1927, p. 277; Nissen, "The Young Citizens League," p. 139.

83. In 1947 state support was $2000 annually; by the 1960s it was only $1000. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 351; Thirty-Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of South Dakota, July 1, 1966 to June 30, 1968, Pierre, S.D.: State Board of Education, 1968, p. 93.

84. Nissen, "The Young Citizens League of South Dakota," p. 277.

85. Better Rural School Bulletin (edited by M. M. Guhin), vol. 8, no. 7, March, 1930, p. [illegible]; Nissen, "The Young Citizens League," p. 140.

86. The Young Citizen, vol. 15, no. 1, Nov., 1943, p. 5. The exact date of the demise of The Young Citizen is hard to determine as only broken holdings for the late 1930s to the late 1940s are known to be held in any library in South Dakota. It was still going in 1964 (when it was last mentioned in the Thirty-Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of South Dakota, July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1964,

Pierre, S.D.: State Board of Education, 1964, p. 90). The next biennial report was silent on the national YCL and The Young Citizen, while the 1966-1968 edition mentioned that there no longer wa. a national organization. Thirty-Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 93.

87. Nissen, "The Young Citizens League," p. 140; Nissen, "The Young Citizens League of South Dakota," p. 278.

88. Weeks, A Course of Study, pp. 781-806; Better Rural Schools Bulletin, vol. 8, no. 1, Sept., 1929, entire issue.

89. Crowder, "Their Fingers in the Pie," p. 44.

90. Giffin, "A State Program in Citizenship," p. 522; Nissen, "The Young Citizens League," pp. 139-140.

91. Community Civics, p. 67.

92. Crowder, "Their Fingers in the Pie," p. 46; various war period issues of The Young Citizen; Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota," p. 335.

93. Helen Bergh, oral history interview.

94. Emma Meistrik, "Young Citizens League," South Dakota Education Journal, vol. 10, 1934-35, p. 390.

95. M. M. Guhin, "Quo Vadis, Y. C. L.? (Whither Goest Thou, Y. C. L.?)," Better Rural Schools Bulletin, vol. 8, no. 1, September, 1929, p. 3.

96. Nissen, "The Young Citizens League," p. 139.

97. "In Memoriam" issue of The Rural Educator, p. 15.

98. Hazel V. Peterson, "National Young Citizens League," South Dakota Education Association Journal, vol. 19, 1943, p. 50.

99. The Young Citizen, vol. 15, no. 6, April, 1944, p. 3; vol. 16, no. 1, October, 1944, p.2; vol. 17, no. 1, September, 1945, p. 7; vol. 17, no. 6, May, 1946, pp. 6-7.

100. Thirty-First Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of South Dakota, July 1, 1950 to June 30, 1952, Pierre, S.D.: Department of Public Instruction, 1952, pp. 16, 210.

101. Thirty-Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 93.

THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOL AS AN AGENT OF ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANT ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOUTH DAKOTA

A Research Report

by

Philip L. Brown

Librarian-Researcher

Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier

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This report will discuss a few aspects of the rural schools' role in the assimilation of the children of immigrant ethnic groups into the majority culture. It will examine the critical matter of English as the language of instruction, the Americanization efforts springing up from World War I, and the case of the Hutterites, whose assimilation is not complete after over 100 years. It will not discuss the matter of education of the Indians in South Dakota, partly because the Indians were not educated in the public schools of the state. It also will make only minor comments about specific ethnic groups.

The settlement of Dakota Territory proceeded rather slowly until the late 1870s. While there were immigrants among the early settlers in the southeastern counties along the Missouri River and up the valleys of the tributary streams and also enclaves of specific nationalities, the territorial legislature did not act to enforce English as the language of instruction in the public schools until a couple years after the great Dakota Boom began to bring a large influx of immigrants as well as pioneers of native-American stock. In 1879 a territorial law was passed that prohibited the use of public school funds to be used for elementary schools where English was not the exclusive language of instruction. In 1881 this law was relaxed to permit one hour per day of instruction in another language.[1] The one-hour-per-day exception was soon withdrawn, for the codified laws of Dakota Territory, published in 1887, required instruction exclusively in English. The actual provision was somewhat indirect, for it was inserted into a requirement that the district records and meeting minutes must be in English. The requirement was to be enforced in civil action by the county superintendent or any district taxpayer to recover for the district the cost of operating the illegal school from the school district officer or officers

responsible for such expenditures.[2]

After South Dakota was admitted to the union in 1889, the same provision for exclusive teaching in English at the elementary level with the same enforcement provision was retained in the law in slightly different phraseology.[3] Other than the list of subjects to be taught, which include English grammar, this provision remained the sole basis for exclusive instruction in English until 1918. In that year the list of the subjects of instruction was amended in one act to insert "in the English language only" prior to the actual list of subjects and to add a subsequent sentence banning instruction in any foreign language in the common schools. A second act, extended the prohibition on instruction in any foreign language to private elementary schools, and extended the prohibition to high schools with an exception that foreign languages could be taught as subjects. This same act also placed a misdemeanor penalty upon teachers and school officers who violated it.[4]

The 1918 legislation apparently was construed by some persons to permit shortening of the usual school day and turning over the schoolhouse, under the provisions for public use of the schoolhouse outside of school hours, for privately-organized classes in foreign languages. A law passed in 1921 extended the prohibition on instruction in foreign languages to nonschool hours and to any public building between the months of September and May. It also became a criminal offense for anyone to try to contravene the prohibition in any fashion.[5] Apparently this law was never successfully challenged, unlike the anti-foreign-language-instruction legislation of Nebraska, which was passed in the same era. Its language was incorporated virtually unchanged into the South Dakota Code of 1939, as was the older provision for civil suit against school

who caused school monies to be expended to teach in a foreign language in a common school.[6]

The original 1879 prohibition on teaching in foreign languages addressed a very apparent need that all members of American society should be able to use the primary language of the country. At no time in the history of Dakota Territory or South Dakota did the immigrants threaten the majority position of the English-speaking natives, but settlement was not even. There were in the early years many places where most of the pupils in a one-room school would be from one immigrant nationality. Especially before legislation prohibited the practice, the district might be inclined to have the school taught in the language of the parents and children of the district. Thus, the early schools around Freeman, in an area settled by Swiss Mennonites and German-Russian Hutterites who homesteaded instead of entering one of the communal Hutterite colonies, were taught in German.[7] Even the certification of teachers upon examination by the county superintendent did not at first ensure that the teachers would instruct in English where much of the county spoke another language. The 1880 report of the territorial board of education noted:

> In a few counties in the territory the foreign element is predominant and so strong as to control almost absolutely the schools of the county, as well as the action of the county superintendents [who were elected]. . . . There are cases of the granting of certificates in counties to people unable to speak the English language. The county superintendent is at fault, but he is supported by county officers and public sentiment.[8]

The temporary provision of the 1881 law for an hour of instruction daily in a foreign language may have been an attempt to accomodate such sentiment while still pushing for the assimilative process through instruction in English during the remainder of the school day. Legally, however, partial instruction in a

foreign language did not last long, as noted above.

What was almost certainly the more common case is typified by the early school history of Day County. The foreign-born and the persons with foreign-born parents outnumbered the old-American stock about two to one in 1890, yet Americanization through the schools was already an established process. There were several immigrant nationalities to divide that part of the population, although most of the immigrant stock were Germans or Scandinavians. The old-American element tended to dominate the early political development because of familiarity with the institutions, and this dominance extended generally to the school districts. In the case of schools, their dominance was supported by those persons of immigrant background who had become acquainted with American ways while previously settled in states to the east. With the schools taught in English and using textbooks that inculcated American attitudes and with interaction on the playground also leading to Ameicanization, J. Olson Anders has been able to conclude: "A fundamental factor in the Americanization of Day County was the establishment of the public school system."[9]

Often, where children of immigrants dominated the enrollment, teaching the English language absorbed most of the instructional time. There would be pupils with an age range of 7 to 14 in one class struggling to learn to speak and read English. In some German communities the teachers were German speakers to whom English was a second language, and in those places English progress was slower.[10] Also slowing the process were the short school terms and the high degree of irregularity of attendance which were usual at the time.

Foreign immigration into South Dakota had nearly ceased by 1900, but the process of assimilation was far from complete by World War I. In line with a

growing concern nationally about gaining full acceptance of American political values and patriotism, the legislative enactment of the list of required subjects and the succeeding editions of the course of study gave more and more emphasis to United States and state history and later to civil government. Entry of the United States into World War I caused South Dakota's leaders to learn that not even instruction in the English language was always being accomplished successfully in the common schools of the state. Where there was a large group of one nationality, its language would be used outside the home so that "before and sometimes after the compulsory school attendance law was passed in South Dakota in 1915, a person of immigrant stock could be born, reared, married, could farm and be buried without knowing much if any English."[11]

Under wartime conditions the new awareness from the induction examinations of a failure to teach fluency in English to all children of immigrants was certain to lead to stronger legislation.[12] It was given even greater impetus by extreme anti-German behavior that swept the state as well as several neighboring states. The English-language instruction law of 1918 and its strengthening in 1921, which were described earlier, were one result. Two other pieces of school legislation also came out of the wartime sense of a need for a complete assimilation. By an act of 1918 all public and private educational institutions of the state were required to devote "one hour each week in the aggregate" to the teaching of patriotism, singing of patriotic songs, reading of patriotic addresses, and study of the lives of great American patriots.[13]

In 1919 an act that came to be called the Americanization Act was passed to require youths between the ages of 16 and 21 who could not speak, read, and write the English language on the fifth grade level to attend night school classes or

the regular day school. The subject matter of the classes, which were to total 200 hours over a period of 20 weeks, included English, the Constitution, and American history. The state was to pay up to one half of the cost of instruction, but the local school district, perhaps in retribution for its previous failure, was to foot the rest of the bill.[14]

The law subjected only minors to its provisions as it was felt that the state could not require adults to attend school. The night schooling recognized that many of the individuals subject to it were gainfully employed. Adults who needed additional study were encouraged to enroll.[15] In 1919-20 some 625 persons attended Americanization school; the next year enrollment peaked at 1002. It went into a gradual decline thereafter until its end in 1932, and it was confined principally to the larger cities after 1925.[16] M. M. Guhin, the first director of Americanization, reported to the South Dakota Educational Association in the first fall of operation that in addition to the large cities, smaller communities including Dowdle, Java, and Herried had begun programs.[17] The villages named were all in the area of heavy German-Russian settlement in northcentral South Dakota. In the sources available no mention is made of programs in country schools. Perhaps there were such programs in some locales, but day attendance or tuition to a nearby village school were more likely solutions because of lighting problems and the expense. In fact, Guhin encouraged the villages to consider their entire trade territories as the drawing areas for their respective evening schools.[18]

Partly because World War I particularly focused attention on the German speakers, there are more references to problems of assimilation of the Germans, but it seems that the finger really pointed at the German-Russians. There are

theoretical grounds for believing that the German-Russians probably did assimilate more slowly. Most of the other major ethnic groups in South Dakota had many members who were not new to the United States when they settled in Dakota Territory.

Many of the Norwegians, for example, had lived for several years in the states to the east or were even the children of immigrants to those states. Before the Dakota Boom the Norwegians had already settled their attitude toward assimilation. They rejected their clergy's proposal of parochial schools to be taught in Norwegian in favor of the commons schools taught in English. A supplementary summer school in Norwegian was common.[19] Field research brought forth reports of such summer language schools among the Norwegians using rural schoolhouses as late as the 1920s. The South Dakota law of 1921 was constructed to permit this practice. In addition, even before World War I made English-speaking an act of demonstrating patriotism, many Norwegians of the first generation born in the United States banned Norwegian from home conversation because they were Americans now. Field studies turned up instances of this pattern.

While Norwegians tended to settle in close proximity to other Norwegians, in South Dakota they generally did not become so predominate over whole townships and even counties as did the German-Russians who came in large numbers to the state. The German-Russians all were new to the United States so that there were no partially-assimilated persons to set an example for the newcomers. In addition, they were apeople which had successfully resisted assimilation in Russia for a century by shunning contact with the surrounding nationality. These conditions all led them to tend to stay aloof in the United States, restricting contacts even with other German-speaking immigrants.[20]

Field studies and oral history interviews brought contact with a generation which was growing up in the 1920s or starting to teach at that time. This sample indicates that there were few pupils who knew very little English when starting school by the 1920s. The ones with the least English often were German-Russians.

Among the earliest of the of the German-Russian immigrants in Dakota Territory were the Hutterites, who arrived in 1874 to 1877. The Hutterites are one of several anabaptist groups that formed within twenty years of Martin Luther's beginning of the Reformation in sixteenth-century Germany. The Amish and Mennonites are other such anabaptist groups which practice adult baptism. The Hutterites, named after their early leader Jacob Hutter, who was martyred at the stake, differ from all other anabaptists in practicing communal property as described of early Christians in the book of Acts. They early developed an integrated belief and communal living system that did not depend on a single charismatic leader for the authority to keep it functioning. The group also has become totally endogamous. The most perceptive student of Hutterite communalism summarizes the essential qualities that make the Hutterite system stable thusly:

> The members accept an ideological social order as an essential part of the colony's organization. Family and kinship groups are subordinate to the colony, and expectations for the individual are strengthened by comprehensive socialization for all age groups, by diffusion of authority within peer groups, by incentives for work without private gain, and by spiritual or mystic qualities generated by intense communal living.[21]

In over three centuries before coming to the United States in the 1870s from Russia to escape Russification and conscription ordered by the czar (like other anabaptists they are pacifists), the Hutterites waxed and waned under

alternating civil protection and persecution followed by fleeing to new lands. Their lowest point came only a century prior to coming to the United States when those accepting Catherine the Great's offer of assylum and land in Russia numbered less than 100. At times over the centuries they failed to maintain the communal ownership system even as they considered it to be the proper Christian pattern of life. Fatefully, the majority of them had, only a few years before the Czar's ending of their special privileges, undergone a religious revival and had reestablished themselves into three colonies practicing communal ownership. If that revival of communalism had not occurred then, very likely the Hutterites who came to the United States would now be as fully assimilated into American life as the noncommunal Mennonite anabaptists.

Sources that depend on the communal Hutterites for facts about the numbers who came into the future South Dakota say that about 700 Hutterites came to the area, and about one-half of these stayed in the three colonies; the others took up homesteads.[22] Some or even most of these Prairieleut ("prairie people," so called because they lived on the flat prairies whereas the original colonies located in the river valleys) may not have joined the revival of communalism during their last years in Russia. The genealogical researches of the descendents of the Prairieleut have identified 1254 Hutterite immigrants, of which about 800 chose private ownership.

This group is fully assimilated today. The process started under the influence of the Homestead Act, which cause them to abandon village life, effectively destroying the conservative effect upon their mode of life that living close together would have had even in the absence of communal property, as it had in in the non-communal-property period in Russia. These people happened to settle

adjacent to Swiss-German Mennonites whose language (the Hutterites speak a Tyrolese dialect of German), beliefs, and religious practices were quite similar to those of the Hutterites, except for the communal property ideal which was already abandoned. As they began to amalgamate with the Swiss Mennonites, that group was assimilating into American society at a nearly typical pace.

With the loss of village life, which might have permitted some of the Hutterite social culture to have continued, also went the loss of the distinctive Hutterite schooling system, which is a cornerstone of the success of the non-assimilating Hutterite communal system. Parochial schools proved impractical because of distances, and soon they were sending their children to the common schools that were established in their neighborhoods.[23] Their language they considered especially important to their way of life, which they may have regarded more as an organic whole than most people perceive their own values. Their neighborhood common schools were at first taught in German by immigrant Hutterites who could not teach in English.[24] The county superintendent of Turner County complained in 1888 of these immigrants from Russia who did not have much interest in American schools or in fitting their children to become active supporters of American institutions.[25] They did, however, accept schooling in English for their children and attempted German school in the summer. The summer schooling in German proved to be a losing battle, and the nearly complete transition to the English language was signaled by a switch to English for church services in the 1930s and 1940s, less than a generation later than was typical of other ethnic groups in South Dakota.[26]

The communal Hutterites remain quite distinct to this day. They developed a successful pattern of establishing daughter colonies by buying new lands and

splitting the population of the parent colony whenever it began to grow beyond 150 persons. The new colony had as much control of its own affairs as any other colony, but the religious leaders did establish a network that would maintain the correctness of the organic whole of colony life by deciding upon controversial issues. Thus, no colony has been free to drift into a pattern of assimilation.

Perhaps the greatest problem of accomodation to the United States until World War I brought conscription was the school. The communal pattern required intensive socialization of the children into communal norms and values if subsequent generations were to be persuaded to accept their roles as they reached adulthood. Although it may have been established partly to permit traditional women's work to be performed as a group activity, a system of schooling that began with age two and continued to the fifteenth birthday developed in the first century of Hutterite communalism. The Hutterites thus pioneered the nursery school and kindergarten in their Kleinschul, attended all day from age two to age five. Even at this age religious training is begun, and a strict discipline is imposed.[27]

From age six to the fifteenth birthday, approximately the ages of common school education in nineteenth-century America, the Hutterite chidren attended a one-room school, called the Grosschul, in the church. Prior to entering the United States its curriculum was parallel to that of early public education in this country except for a great emphasis on religion and instruction in German, the literary German that was the language of the Bible.[28]

As noted earlier, Dakota Territory required public schools to be supported and instruction in English after 1879. The Hutterites will not resist the state

except where crucial religious principles are concerned, and then they will move to another polity if necessary. They worked out an accomodation to designate the colony itself as a common school district and to hold the common school during the hours of the day and for the term required by law. Their own school, usually called the German school by Americans, they held thereafter prior to and after the public or "English" school. In the period up to World War I, the Hutterites usually were able to have one of themselves certified to teach the common school. With poor English skills, lack of interest in American values, and little outside supervision, these teachers did not teach English skillfully or contribute much to assimilative tendencies.[29]

By World War I the Hutterites had prolifically expanded to 1700 persons in 17 colonies. Problems with conscription and war bonds as well as some rowdyism and even mob behavior against them in the surrounding community led the Hutterites to decide to move to the prairie provinces of Canada just before a court case by the state of South Dakota on trumped-up charges in 1919 would have made their communal existence impossible.[30] Most colonies left at this time and by the early 1930s only one of the original colonies remained in South Dakota. Although in Canada the state authorities seem to have been more insistent upon qualified teachers and insuring instruction in English, the South Dakota Hutterite school compromise essentially continued.[31]

The grim economic conditions of the 1930s led state government to view the return of the Hutterites to South Dakota to occupy land and make it produce as desirable. In 1935 the legislature passed the Communal Corporations Act, which permitted the Hutterites to organize as a nonprofit religious corporation.[32] The next year the first of several new colonies came to South Dakota from

Canada to occupy old colony sites and later to establish new colonies.[33] Although there have been moments of tension between the Hutterites and their neighbors, generally the Hutterites have prospered in both the United States and Canada since the World War I crisis. The original 400 communal Hutterites that came to Dakota Territory had multiplied to 17,300 by 1965,[34] and they probably number 30,000 today. In 1968 there were 2,772 Hutterites in the 27 colonies in South Dakota.[35] Both numbers are considerably larger today.

Whether their school were organized as separate common school districts or were parts of larger districts, the Hutterites in both Canada and the United States after World War I found themselves less and less able to supply their own teachers for the English school. The educational qualifications for teachers were raised over the years, but the Hutterites found it to be risky to send their own children to high school and then college to acquire the required qualifications. Thus, outside teachers who were native speakers of English and representatives of the majority culture took over instruction. By the late 1960s in South Dakota this transition was virtually complete.[36]

School reorganization in the late 1960s meant that Hutterite colonies could no longer be separate school districts. The effect was to remove the Hutterites legally from control of their own schools, although it did not mean that the schools were closed and the Hutterite children bused to a consolidated school. An earlier experiment in 1961, when Hutterite children were enrolled in the school at Doland, had proved unworkable.[37] Even in the 1960s some Hutterite schools were organized as parochial schools (which still had to meet state standards),[38] and by 1980 most of the Hutterite schools were operated in this fashion for the colony to obtain some measure of control.

To this date the English school as imposed on the Hutterite colonies has not destroyed the distinctive Hutterite communal life. Both outsiders and Hutterites have felt that imposition of attendance off the premises of the colony at the elementary level or extension of mandatory schooling to include high school, which almost certainly would be off the colony, would be a distinct threat to the survival of the Hutterite way.[39] In South Dakota in 1981 the matter of control of the schools, temporarily at least, is going the other way through no effort of the Hutterites. The promoters of fundamentalist Christian schools have prevailed upon the legislature to remove the requirement for certified teachers in private schools.

A degree of assimilation is occurring, nevertheless. The Hutterites have been enthusiastic adoptors of mechanical agriculture and modern technology in the communal part of their lives--food preparation, dish washing, and laundry. In the past they sought to keep their purchases from the outside to a minimum while they sold their surplus production. The money thus earned went for expansion and the establishing of new colonies. Technology was adopted to increase productivity, but it has reduced self-sufficiency also. By the 1960s the colonies were beginning to buy some finished foods such as bread and lunch meats and undergarments as well.[40]

The requirement of schooling in English has surely contributed to this modernization and increasing economic integration. The present generation of adults must contain a goodly number of fully bilingual individuals, particularly those in charge of the enterprises. One wonders whether the marvels of technology which come from outside and the economic interdependence and increased contact may not in time lead to a weakening of the religious underpinning of

the system.

Presently this threat does not seem to be a certainty to overcome Hutterite communalism. The process of socialization in the communal ways still continues quite intensely. A recent account in Natural History, although written on a popular level, tells the rather dramatic personality changes Hutterite life induced in the children of a husband-wife social scientist team that lived for some time among the Hutterites. The author summed up why the socialization process succeeds by noting its result: "The Hutterite self-image requires colony identification."[41]

In summary, the common school was assumed to be an adequate instrument for the assimilation of the immigrants over a generation's timespan. An early requirement for instruction in English was followed by stricter attendance standards and requirements for instruction in civics and patriotism in the surge of American nationalism that accompanied World War I. Night Americanization schooling was instituted in the aftermath to correct the failure of the schools always to teach fluency in English. The success of assimilation was nevertheless quite advanced as the most conservative of ethnic institutions, the churches, adopted English-language services between World War I and World War II. The differing rates of assimilation fo the Prairieleut non-communal Hutterites and the communal Hutterites show that only a fully-integrated social system could avoid succumbing to assimilation when schooling in English with American textbooks was required.

NOTES

1. Cleata B. Thorpe, "Education in South Dakota: Its First Hundred Years, 1861-1961," pp. 205-444 in South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. 36, 1972, p. 224.

2. The Compiled Laws of the Territory of Dakota, A.D. 1887, Bismarck, Dakota: Dakota Territory, 1887, p. 396.

3. School Law of South Dakota with Session Laws Relating to Public Schools, Tyndall, S.D.: Tribune Printing, 1891, pp. 29-30.

4. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1918 Special Session, pp. 47-48.

5. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1921, pp. 306-307.

6. South Dakota Code of 1939, 4 vols., Pierre, S.D.: State Publishing Co., 1939, vol. 1, pp. 710, 767-768.

7. J. J. Mendel, History of the People of East Freeman, Silver Lake and West Freeman from 1528 to 1961 and History of Freeman (Continued 1958-1961), [Freeman, S.D.; 1962], p. 16.

8. Gertrude S. Young, "The Mennonites in South Dakota," pp. 470-506 in South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. 10, 1920, p. 503.

9. "Educational Beginnings in a Typical Prairie County," Rural Sociology, vol. 7, pp. 424-426, 431. The quotation appears on p. 425.

10. Jane Boorman, "A Frontier Learns of God and Man," pp. 165-185 in J. Leonard Jennewein and Jane Boorman, eds., Dakota Panorama, 3rd ed., Sioux Falls, S.D.: Brevet Press, 1973, p. 175.

11. Douglas Chittick, "A Recipe for Nationality Stew," pp. 89-145 in J. Leonard Jennewein and Jane Boorman, eds., Dakota Panorama, 3rd ed., Sioux Falls, S.D.: Brevet Press, 1973, p. 108.

12. M. M. Guhin, Americanization in South Dakota, [Pierre, S.D.]: Department of Public Instruction, 1919, p. 10.

13. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1918 Special Session, p. 45.

14. Session Laws of South Dakota, 1919, pp. 154-156.

15. Guhin, Americanization in South Dakota, p. 11.

16. Chittick, "A Recipe for Nationality Stew," p. 110.

17. M. M. Guhin, "Americanization Program in Our Schools," pp. 40-43 in Proceed-

ings of the South Dakota Educational Association, vol. 37, 1919, p. 40.

18. Americanization in South Dakota, p. 13.

19. Frank C. Nelsen, "The School Controversy Among Norwegian Immigrants," Norwegian American Studies, vol. 26, 1974, pp. 206-219, passim; Peter A. Munch, "Norwegians," pp. 750-761 in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. by Stephen Thernstrom, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1980, p. 756.

20. LaVern J. Rippley, "Germans from Russia," pp. 425-430 in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. by Stephen Thernstrom, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1980, p. 426.

21. John A Hostetter, "Hutterites," pp. 471-473 in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. by Stephen Thernstrom, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1980, p. 472.

22. Victor Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965, p. 42.

23. This section is partly speculative and interpretive on my part while based on considerable reading about Hutterite history and social science studies of colony life. The numeric data, the Homestead Act causing the abandonment of village living, and the impracticality of their previous pattern of schooling are discussed in Hutterite Centennial Committee, History of the Hutterite Mennonites, rev. ed., Freeman, S.D.: Pine Hill Press, 1975, p. 140.

24. Mendel, History of East Freeman, p. 16.

25. Young, "The Mennonites in South Dakota," p. 504.

26. Hutterite Centennial Committee, History of the Hutterite Mennonites, pp. 140-141.

27. John A. Hostetler, Education and Marginality in the Communal Society of the Hutterites, Cooperative Research Project, OE 2-10131, Project No. 1683, University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 1965, pp. 53-54.

28. Ibid., pp. 55, 60.

29. Young, "The Mennonites in South Dakota," p. 504.

30. Peters, All Things, in Common," pp. 43-45.

31. Ibid., pp. 49, 139-140.

32. Mark W. Huenemann, "Hutterite Education as a Threat to Survival," South Dakota History, vol. 7, 1976-1977, p. 19.

33. Norman Thomas, "The Hutterian Brethren," pp. 265-299 in South Dakota Historical Collections, vol. 25, 1950, p. 280.

34. Marvin P. Riley and Darryl R. Johnson, South Dakota's Hutterite Colonies, 1874-1969, Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 565, Brookings, S.D.: South Dakota State University, 1970, p. 5.

35. Ibid., p. 18.

36. Huenemann, "Hutterite Education," p. 20; Riley and Johnson, South Dakota's Hutterite Colonies, p. 23.

37. Huenemann, "Hutterite Education," pp. 20-23.

38. Riley and Johnson, South Dakota's Hutterite Colonies, p. 23.

39. Huenemann, "Hutterite Education," p. 24.

40. Riley and Johnson, South Dakota's Hutterite Colonies, pp. 21-22.

41. Gertrude Enders Huntington, "Children of the Hutterites," vol. 90, no. 2, February, 1981, pp. 34-47; the quotation appears on p. 45.